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$12.50 per year NEWSPAPER

Mr. Truman Continues to Rewrite History

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

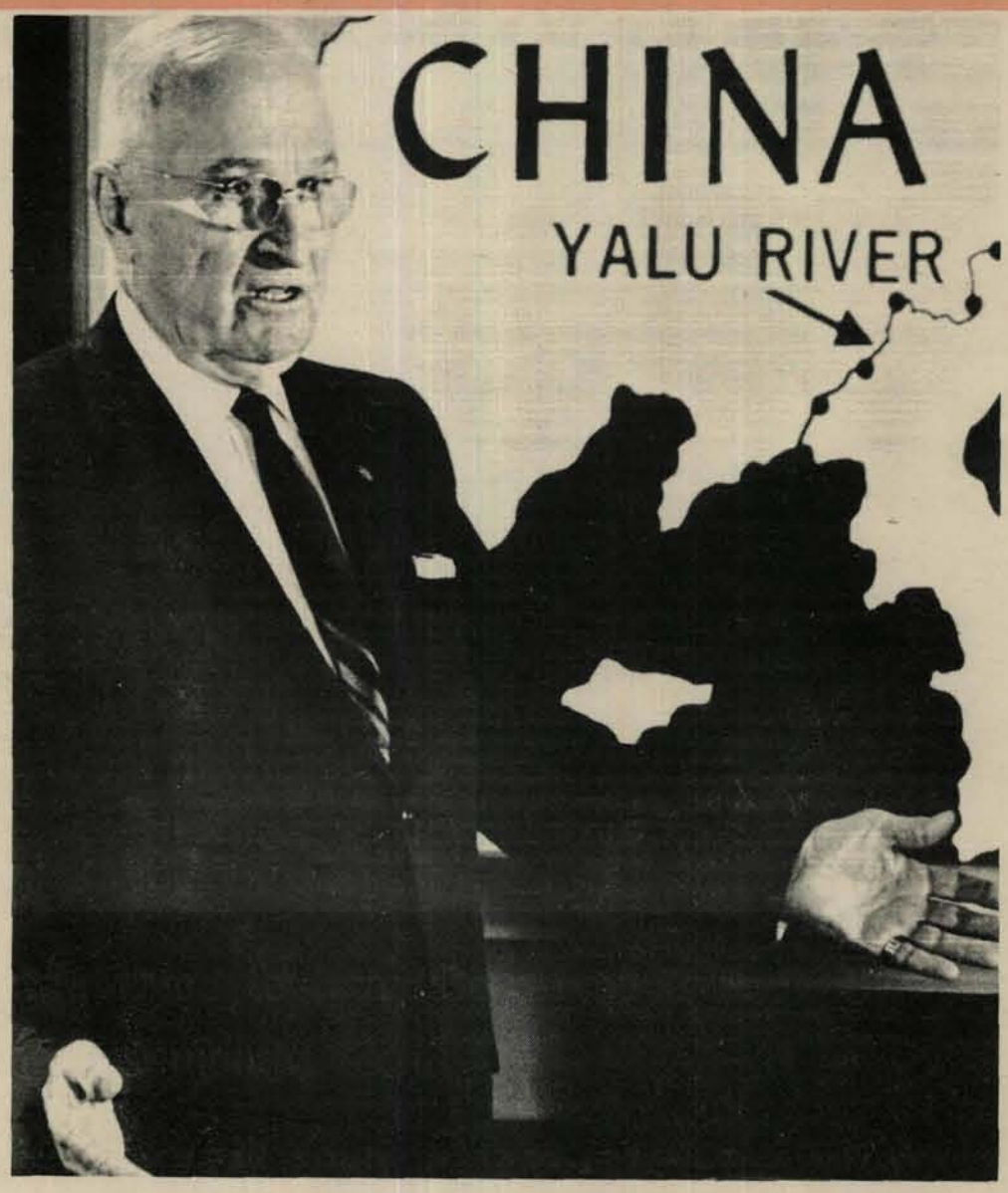
The television stations have been feeding the public a mixture of romance and propaganda, disguised as history, on the life and times of Harry S. Truman. It is called *Decision* and a fanfare introduces it each Sunday night in Washington. As a historian, Mr. Truman has been known in the past to garble his facts, but no one has minded it very much when he went haywire on the subject of President Madison's bathtub.

In this TV series, however, Mr. Truman has been dealing with events that people still remember. His tendency, therefore, to settle old political scores has aroused some of the citizenry, although Screen Gems, producer of the extravaganza, seems to have done little to check the record.

It was recalled that in an episode on the late and great Gen. Douglas MacArthur, Mr. Truman gratuitously gave currency to a completely false account of Gen. Wainwright's first meeting after his release from a Japanese prison camp with MacArthur. Out of the blue, Mr. Truman accused Gen. MacArthur of being boorish and cruel to the sick and emaciated Wainwright —a fabrication of the radical left which has been repeatedly disproved.

Now, however, ex-President Truman has returned to his war with Congress over price controls at the termination of World War II. It will be recalled that the American public was so fed up with both price and wage controls in 1946 that it elected a Republican Congress in protest. Mr. Truman ignores this fact and launches into an explanation of the past which those of us who lived through that period fail to recognize.

The chronology is clear. On Sept. 6, 1945, President Truman asked Congress for a continuation of his vast wartime authority to impose controls on wages and prices. Labor, which had been relatively constrained by wage ceilings and a freeze on employment, opposed one feature of the President's request. Industry opposed price controls which applied at the retail level but did not take in a steady increase in costs.



In one program in the TV series, former President Truman gives his version of the Korean War and the conflict over crossing the Yalu River.

Caught in this crossfire, Congress gave Mr. Truman a six-month extension. This he did not like one little bit. From the vantage point of the White House, he called for a new bill. What Congress wrote, however, Mr. Truman did not like. For the measure as drawn up guaranteed that the cost-price squeeze would not drive business to the wall. It allowed manufacturers a profit equal to what they had been making in 1941, at the time the first price control measure was passed.

In his Screen Gems operetta, Mr. Truman states flatly that 1941 was the year in which "profits had been highest." To him, this proved the reactionary nature of American industry. But was Congress attempting an end-run on the consumer by including this clause? Had profits, in fact, been higher in 1941 than 1946? The simple fact, which any reader of the federal government's *Statistical Abstract of the United States* can determine is that with some exceptions profits have been going up steadily in this country.

The *Statistical Abstract* does not give a breakdown for every year in the decade 1940-1949. But the figures listed give an accurate picture. In 1940, profits before taxes were $9.32 billion. Profits after taxes, which is what counts, had reached a $6.87 billion level. By 1945—the year before the controversy over a peacetime wage-price bill—before-tax profits had more than doubled—to $18.98 billion. The increase of after-tax profits was considerably slower—less than 25 per cent—but still up to $8.29 billion.

Mr. Truman's attack on the bill and his justification on the so-called TV "documentary" for vetoing the measure therefore collapse under the weight of the facts. The sharp rise during the war years of profits also included the small businessman who made out better percentage-wise than did many of the industrial giants. Mr. Truman adds that after his veto, prices rose "precipitously"—which is not a fact—and that a panicky Congress thereby gave him what he wanted.

The moral of the TV show, and the point Mr. Truman was out to demonstrate, was that he saved the American people from the greedy mammoths of management and their stooges in Congress. In fact, when price controls were removed, the inflation predicted did not follow as a result. Pent-up demand pushed some prices up, but the inflationary factor was government spending and the impact of the Korean war in 1950.

Not so Mr. Truman. To hear him tell it, his veto of the "reactionary" price control bill was a direct blow at the Communists who wanted to bring economic chaos to the United States. In this way, history is rewritten.

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Dickens Still Champion

Xerox Fails to Sell U.N. In Television Spectacular

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Nil nisi bonum. If the departed 1964 gave us conservatives a raw deal most of his ill-spent days, in his final week he had a deathbed repentance and allowed one of our favorites to retain his literary Yuletide laurels against a contender from the Establishment. The winner—by a TKO—and still champion: Charles John Huffman Dickens.

Ever since 1843, Christmas would not have been Christmas without Dickens' *Carol.* Oh, there have been other things like "'Twas the Night Before Christmas" and, of recent years, Bing Crosby's rendition of Irving Berlin's "White Christmas." But these have been but the trappings—welcome trappings, to be sure, and I would be the first to miss them—whereas the Dickens parable has been the very heart of the Yuletide spirit. The chronicle of the transformation of Ebenezer Scrooge has been translated into almost every known tongue.

It is above creed and sect, and whatever our religion we read it lovingly—and had it read to us—annually as youngsters. When radio came, we heard it enacted by glittering luminaries; and with the advent of TV we could actually see the characters come to life. Corny? Perhaps—but I have seen sinners as well as saints, sophisticates as well as innocents moved by the immortal fairy story.

But this year, we were told, we were to get an updated version, one more in keeping with the times. The same progressive types who are so eager to change a Constitution they deem outmoded, who insist on "modernizing" the King James version of the Bible by squeezing it dry of its majesty and poetry were going to give us, instead of the 121-year-old classic, something labeled "Carol for Another Christmas." This was, happily, to launch a $4 million series—a tax-deductible gift of the Xerox Corp.—glorifying the United Nations, which, as its work in the Congo has proved, is in sad need of glorifying.

Naturally, a typical Madison Avenue campaign heralded the initial offering. There was to be a solid-gold cast, with Peter Sellers flying here from England to take part in the show; a world-famous director would guide it; and the script would be done by a celebrated TV author who had made seven notable appearances at academy functions, six times as winner of an Emmy and once as announcer for a beer product. How could it go wrong?

As one quivering TV editor put it, "In a season conspicuous by its lack of distinction, this seems a Christmas gift too good to be true." We all sat back and quivered expectantly with him, though perhaps we conservatives quaked for a different reason: we like the Constitution, the King James version and our Dickens unadulterated.

Well, we needn't have worried. The new "Carol" was neither good nor true. Its main contention, that if nations kept talking they'd never fight, conveniently forgot that the Japanese envoys were discussing peace with Cordell Hull even as their planes had been ordered to Pearl Harbor. And the Russians, it argued, "took their phone off the hook" when the Nazis invaded Poland: thus ignoring—in behalf of world peace, no doubt—the plain fact that the Russkis immediately grabbed the other half of Poland. As history, it was a clinker.

But, above all, it was dull. So dull that even the liberal TV editors couldn't take it. The West Coast critic cited above termed it a "windy, ridiculous play" and compared parts of it to a high school production.

Nor were the New York critics any kinder. The *Times*' Jack Gould called it "smug . . . tedious and empty preachment . . . embarrassing . . . a pretentious and wearing exercise in garrulous ineptitude." Jack O'Brien of the *Journal-American* damned it as "high-level dreariness." And another paper noted that CBS' "Many Happy Returns," which played opposite, outdrew it—and "Many Happy Returns" is about to be dropped for lack of audience appeal.

Nor do I regard it as sheer coincidence that, shortly after the glamorized "Carol" was shown, Sukarno, that gallant ally with whom we have shared so much of our money, announced he was withdrawing from the United Nations. Indeed, at this writing, it appears that the challenger didn't carry a single state.

At any rate, however the rest of the series turns out, it seems fairly safe to say that, come Christmas of 1965, TV will carry the same old lovable Dickens *Christmas Carol* as of yore. Even Xerox, with all its magic, cannot improve a bad imitation of the real thing: hand it a spurious script, and that's all it can reproduce.

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President Johnson delivers the State of the Union message to Congress.

State of Union Message

...And Heaven, Too

From the Chicago *Tribune*

One has come to look for an inflated prospectus whenever a President unloads a State of the Union message. Mr. Johnson's performance was in the tradition. A new Age of Pericles was to be plucked like a rabbit from a hat. The secular savior is to take us over and give us the bum's rush up the road to his conception of the "Great Society."

The disquieting thought may have occurred to Mr. Johnson's auditors that, with better than two-thirds majorities in both branches of Congress, and with the means of enforcing party discipline, Mr. Johnson may be able to translate a great deal of the contents of his grab bag into reality. Whether the people will like it is something else again.

The costs, nowhere specified, are bound to be fantastic, for only the tip of the iceberg will show as these multitudinous schemes come into being. Whatever the administrative budget may show—probably spending of $100 billion or better—the cash budget, covering inflow and outflow of cash for all government activities, is already reckoned at $127 billion, with prospective receipts at $120 billion.

So there are some deficits ahead: Mr. Johnson made no such reckless promise as that of a balanced budget, but only that he would "continue along the path toward a balanced budget." While he spoke of price stability and a dollar of "unquestioned" soundness, the explosive potentials of inflation are plainly visible in his portmanteau of promises.

For Mr. Johnson will personally filter the air you breathe. He will landscape your street and surround you with beauty. He will give you culture, spoon-fed, through a foundation for the arts and a White House conference on scenic beauty.

He will minister to your child in prekindergarten, and will dose your grandmother through Medicare under Social Security. He will pour a billion and a half, as a starter, into the schools at all levels. He will decontaminate your streams and see to the desalinization of the oceans. Is your suburb dreary? He will make it less bleak.

He will see to it that you pay your dues to a union boss by repealing the "right-to-work" section of the Taft-Hartley Act. He will rush you by fast trains from Washington to Boston in four hours, and don't try to excuse yourself because you've been to Boston. Your cities need a federal department of housing and urban development. The cops will find Mr. Johnson running with them in pursuit of the robbers, and the social worker will find Mr. Johnson giving him a hand with the juvenile delinquents.

On the seventh day, Mr. Johnson works; he does not rest. If he is not being host to some visiting Russians, or traveling to Europe or Latin America, he will be "improving the quality" of your life in other directions, or working up a few "dreams" for you.

What do you do in all this? Apparently you hang on tight and go along for the ride, for never in the annals of soaring political ambition has there been a plan for such all-encompassing state paternalism as Mr. Johnson has proposed. His embrace would be smothering. If you want the government to live the days of your years, the invitation is here.

Mr. Johnson's further remarks on foreign policy were general and skirted various unpleasant realities, such as the moral default and the disarray of the United Nations, the crumbling foundations of the NATO alliance, the dim prospects of retrieving the situation in Viet Nam. Perhaps these are matters of peripheral interest, for the votes are this side of the ocean and Mr. Johnson is, first and always, a politician. Short of the moon, he is ready to dispense everything in sight.

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Truth About South Viet Nam Held Back from U.S. Public

By BARRY GOLDWATER

EDITOR'S NOTE: Now that the presidential campaign is over, Barry Goldwater has resumed his newspaper column, noting, "I welcome the opportunity to state my views against the backdrop of what I believe to be a unique experience in public and private life." Free of the restraints imposed by membership on Senate committees privy to classified information, he will now be able to express his opinions more completely.

BARRY GOLDWATER

The Johnson Administration's moment of truth in South Viet Nam is rapidly approaching.

All elements of the situation in the area which is the recognized key to Southeast Asia are deteriorating to a point where it is impossible to know that what one writes today will not be out of date by the time it gets into print.

The political aspect becomes more desperate each week, with one regime after another stepping into the governmental arena only to be howled at by a hostile mob.

The military situation becomes more alarming each day, as more and more American lives are sacrificed in trying to confine the Viet Cong.

Irresponsibility runs rampant through the streets of Saigon. Acts of terrorism, such as the recent bombing of an American-occupied hotel, are on the increase. Petty feuds, like the one involving American Ambassador Maxwell Taylor and Gen. Nguyen Khanh, commander-in-chief of the Vietnamese armed forces, further confuse what is already muddled.

Through the whole situation run the twin strains of chaos and confusion so dear to the revolutionary hearts of the Communists. The Reds are well acquainted with the demoralizing effects of such conditions in a region which they threaten, but do not control. In many areas of the world, chaos and confusion have been the forerunners of capitulation to the aim of communism. They are the conditioning agents which have been used so successfully by the strategists of Moscow and Peking in their drive for world domination.

And if the situation is confused in South Viet Nam, so is the thinking of most Americans. Our government has never given the public the full Viet Nam story.

We are facing disaster in South Viet Nam. The Administration has yet to confide in us the true nature of the conflict and our long-range plans, if any. Only through the private correspondence of some of the men actually involved have we been able to determine that American servicemen were sent to fight in a foreign war with inadequate equipment and uncertain plans. The evasion on the part of the Administration is nothing short of scandalous.

What is there about this far-off situation that must be hidden from us? What is in the offing that is so secret that the public cannot be trusted with all the facts? Could the Administration be considering a withdrawal or a negotiated settlement, wanting us to believe the consequences would not be serious or that there is no alternative?

There are a great many things that we have a right to know, absolutely must know if we are to appraise the situation intelligently.

On the political side, for example, it would help to know why the Administration chose obviously impractical support for an impotent civilian government rather than continued support of a military government.

Another mystery is why the South East Asia Treaty Organization has not been used as a political and military lever to produce support for the cause of freedom in Viet Nam. Further light should also be shed on our concern for the views of a handful of radical Buddhists who never seem to be satisfied.

On the military side, the questions are even more important. For example, we have a right to know if the joint chiefs of staff have advanced any proposals for winning the war against the Viet Cong. We should know whether the suggestions of America's military leaders have been turned down for political reasons. If so, what political reasons are so compelling that we must risk a major military defeat to satisfy them?

We further have the right to know whether requests for modern equipment for our troops in Viet Nam have been filled, whether we now officially regard the struggle in Viet Nam as a war or an advisory effort, whether suggestions for interdicting Communist supply lines have been turned down finally or whether they are still under consideration.

And where are we to get the answers to these and other pressing questions involving war and peace if not from the executive branch of the government? Perhaps the committees of Congress could supply them. If there is still time, that is.

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Four Red Chinese Fronts Operate Freely in U.S.

By VICTOR RIESEL

Diplomatic enemies of the United States have no difficulty contacting Communist China's agencies in New York—nor in obtaining mainland Communist Chinese literature and printed propaganda for use at strategic moments.

There are at least three official Peking foreign agents operating in New York within walking distance of the United Nations. There is still another Mao-ist front functioning in San Francisco.

These "People's Republic of China" agencies pour considerable revolutionary literature into the United States from these fronts on each coast. Especially effective are appeals to the youth which have resulted in the launching of Mao-ist street action groups in the past two years.

What makes all this most ironic is the fact that the Chinese Communist agencies can operate in the United States quite legally so long as they file under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. This is permitted in the United States but the Peking government does not reciprocate. Nor does its post office permit U.S. literature to be mailed into the mainland. Possession of American literature, except for official use, is punishable by death.

A search of the records by the column reveals the following Chinese Communist agents working in the United States:

China Books and Periodicals, run by Henry H. Noyes, 292 Gough Street, San Francisco. This agency imports and sells publications. Its foreign principals are China Reconstructs, Peking; and Guozi Shudian, Peking.

Imported Publications and Products, 1 Union Square, New York, N. Y. This is a book, periodical and subscription agency. Its foreign principals are Guozi Shudian, Peking and the China Welfare Institute, Shanghai.

Philip Frankfeld, World Books, 747 Broadway, New York, N. Y. This is a purchasing, selling and subscription agency. Frankfeld's foreign principal is Guozi Shudian, Peking.

The final agency, or agent, will stir memories to those who have covered labor for several decades. He is Edwin S. Smith, 24 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y. Smith once was on the National Labor Relations Board and many anti-Communists complained that they suffered at his hands.

Smith's outfit is a literary and photo agency. His foreign principal is China Photo Service, Peking, one of the most virulent anti-U.S. propaganda agencies on the mainland.

The major outlets for Chinese Communist propaganda in this country are China Books and Periodicals, Imported Publications and Products, and World Books. Among the publications flooding the United States are a monthly magazine, *China Reconstructs;* a weekly news magazine, *Peking Review*; a magazine called *China Pictoral*; another magazine for young people called *Evergreen*, and a long series of booklets on political matters as well as politically orientated novels.

Much of this literature hammers away at the U.S. position in South Viet Nam. Thus the Peking government is able to get its propaganda over right in the heartland of the United States. Some of the appeals are catching on. Young people have demonstrated against war since the first slingshot was invented. This is the purpose of the Chinese mainland literature—to stir youthful action groups into "peace" demonstrations on the big city streets.

Then the news reports and the pictures of the youthful demonstrators being hauled off by the police, or herded behind wooden horses, or tangling with the authorities will be shown in Asia to prove that the youth of America are opposed to holding actions in Asia.

A survey of the three New York-based Chinese Communist foreign agents headquarters revealed that there is a steady stream of young people visiting them. They purchase the literature in lots and bring in lists of subscriptions.

There is also a goodly number of U.N. diplomats who use the headquarters to pick up the Chinese Communist periodicals to catch the latest nuance of the party line. These very same members of the U. N. missions of the antagonistic Asian-North African bloc have been noted in headquarters of the Mao-ist youth organizations who boast of their militant street action.

At the very least, the Chinese Communists can't complain that they don't enjoy freedom of speech and press inside the land they vow almost daily to destroy.

(Distributed 1965
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Fulbright Sees Tito

From the Allen-Scott Report

Former Premier Khrushchev is in good health, restricted to his apartment and under constant surveillance, and is receiving the equivalent of an $11,-000-a-year pension.

That's what Yugoslav President Tito told Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, during his recent Belgrade visit.

In talks with foreign relations committeemen, Fulbright is relating that Tito expressed no views on Khrushchev's final fate. He indicated he was in no position to comment on whether the one-time Soviet ruler would or wouldn't be tried.

But Tito had an emphatic opinion about one subject. He strongly urged Fulbright to advise President Johnson to "help us get rid of Tshombe in the Congo."

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• Congressional Republicans will present a united front in urging passage of a constitutional amendment overturning the radical Supreme Court ruling that both houses of state legislatures must be based solely on population. The amendment, sponsored by Senate GOP Leader Everett Dirksen and Ohio Rep. William McCulloch, ranking Republican on the House Judiciary Committee, is expected to receive some bipartisan support. Senate Democrats thought likely to support the Dirksen-McCulloch proposal include Stuart Symington (Mo.), A.S. Mike Monroney (Okla.), Frank Lausche (Ohio) and Robert C. Byrd (W. Va.). The proposed amendment would permit one house of each state legislature to be apportioned on grounds other than population if approved in a state-wide referendum.

DIRKSEN

• *Insiders are betting that Rep. Albert Watson (D.-S.C.) will switch his allegiance to the GOP now that he's been stripped of his seniority privileges for supporting Sen. Goldwater during the campaign. Rep. John Bell Williams (D.-Miss.), who was also stripped of his seniority privileges for backing Goldwater, says he'll remain a Democrat.*

• Rep. Thomas B. Curtis (R.-Mo.) savagely attacked President Johnson's health message to Congress last week as an effort to impose a "national price control" policy on hospital rates. In an extemporaneous speech on the House floor Curtis said that the federal government, through the Health, Education and Welfare Department, would be telling hospitals just how much to charge each patient. He added that the LBJ proposal failed to consider the enormous advancements made by private insurance companies. The existing Kerr-Mills program to aid the elderly, he pointed out, has now been adopted by 44 states.

CURTIS

• *Despite its angry withdrawal from the United Nations, Indonesia will continue to receive substantial U.N. aid (at least a third of which is supplied by U.S. taxpayers). Some $50 million in U.N. money has been allocated for Indonesian projects during the next few years and at least 100 U.N. advisers are expected to remain in that nation. Most aid goes for the development of West Irian Province—the former Dutch New Guinea that was ceded to Indonesia because of U.S. & U.N. pressures.*

• More than 7,000 employes of the New York City Welfare Department walked off their jobs recently, demanding higher pay and a 30-hour work week. The city has invoked provisions of the Condon-Wadlin Act—which forbids strikes by public employes—and has fired 5,398. Whether the Wagner Administration will stand firm is not known. Powerful unions are demanding the city rehire the ousted employes, contending they have a "perfect right" to strike—law or no law.

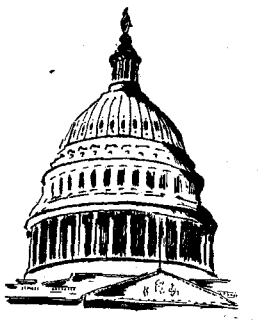
WAGNER

• Navy Times *reports that the Department of Defense is paying nearly $77,000 a year for press clippings so Pentagon officials can tell what the nation's press has to say about their work.*

This Week in Washington

Republican Renegades

As the curtain rose on the new Congress, the public tended to concern itself with LBJ's packet of Utopian promises in the State of the Union message or the battle over leadership inside both the Democratic and Republican parties. But the pros had their attention fixed elsewhere as well: on the less exciting, but all-important, parliamentary procedures adopted by the House of Representatives.



The House rules, as students of government are well aware, can slow down considerably the massive flow of legislation a President and the majority party desire to steamroller through Congress. And it has been the proper function of a minority to see that the rules are not directed against itself. Thomas Jefferson said in his *Manual* that while "it is always in the power of the majority, by their numbers, to stop any improper measures proposed on the part of their opponents," the only way in which a minority may find similar protection is by "the forms and rules of proceeding which have been adopted as they were found necessary, from time to time, and are become the law of the House."

Thus the Republican minority was staggered last week when 16 lawmakers, who wear the GOP label, actually became the decisive margin of victory for a liberal Democratic plan to put the conservatively oriented Rules Committee, with its limited power of deciding what legislation should come to the House floor for a vote, at the mercy of Speaker John McCormack, the highly liberal Democrat from Massachusetts.

Under the successful Democratic strategy, Speaker McCormack will, in effect, have the power to bypass the Rules Committee by bringing to the floor any bill which the Rules Committee has considered but not acted upon for 21 days. (Previously, the easiest way to pry a bill loose from the Rules Committee was to have a majority of the House sign a petition for the committee to discharge a bill it was considering.) The new rule will unquestionably ease the path for LBJ's legislative program.

The key roll call vote was 224 to 201 when the House refused to permit any amendments to rules changes sponsored by the Democrats. If just 12 of the 16 Republicans who voted with the Democratic majority had voted with their Republican colleagues instead, the Rules Committee would not be subject to the tender mercies of McCormack. Moreover, these Republicans (listed in box below) acquiesced to some high-handed Democratic tactics in going along with Democratic strategy.

As it developed, Rep. Howard Smith (D.-Va.), chairman of the Rules Committee, wasn't even formally notified of the proposed rules changes which drastically affected his committee. As Smith tartly reminded his colleagues: "It [a copy of the rules changes] was not distributed to me. I picked one up off the floor." The only reply Democratic whip Carl Albert, who sponsored the rules changes, could make was: "The gentleman from Virginia has exercised his usual initiative in getting things."

These are the 16 Republicans whose vote paved the way for a drastic curtailing of the conservative-oriented Rules Committee and has eased the path for LBJ's legislation: Ayres (Ohio), Broomfield (Mich.), Cahill (N. J.), Corbett (Pa.), Dwyer (N. J.), Fino (N. Y.), Fulton (Pa.), Halpern (N. Y.), Horton (N. Y.), Lindsay (N. Y.), McDade (Pa.), Mathias (Md.), O'Konski (Wis.), Reid (N. Y.), Schweiker (Pa.) and Tupper (Me.)

• *The Administration now learns that efforts to build a new canal across Central America have been made virtually impossible by the terms of the limited nuclear test ban of 1963—a development Barry Goldwater predicted during treaty debate. Glenn T. Seaborg, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, feels that nuclear explosives would be invaluable in blasting through from the Atlantic to the Pacific. To use atomic power, the nuclear test ban must be renegotiated and there is considerable doubt that the USSR would permit the United States to do so.*

Barry's Vote of Confidence

Delegates to the 1964 Republican convention, polled by the Chicago *Daily News*, have given Barry Goldwater an amazing vote of confidence. Despite Goldwater's November loss, more than 70 per cent of those who backed him at San Francisco would do so again.

Replies were received from more than half the delegates to the national convention. Results of the poll indicate that 71 per cent of Goldwater's convention supporters still back him for the GOP nomination. Despite the loss of some support, Goldwater would again be nominated if the Republicans were to hold a convention today, the paper found.

Other highlights of the poll:

• New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller is blamed by many Republicans for the GOP defeat.

• National Chairman Dean Burch has the support of a majority of convention delegates.

• The delegates favor a gradual approach on civil rights rather than a special appeal to Negroes.

State of the Union

Reaction to LBJ's State of the Union message, in which he promised just about everything to everybody, was as follows (see Chicago *Tribune* editorial, page 2, for more details):

• Senate GOP Leader Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois called Johnson's address a "glowing blueprint for paradise," but added: "It is doubtful that any nation of the 115 in this whole world could undertake such a burden and survive. Certain it is that it would require an over-all destruction of local and state authority . . . Notwithstanding the fact that the theme of freedom was emphasized over and over, one can scarcely believe that this dream can be consummated without a sacrifice of essential freedoms and liberty of the American people."

• Chairman J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said he was "very much in favor" of Johnson's proposal for an exchange of visits between Soviet and American leaders. LBJ's message, it was noted, carried many soft-on-Soviet suggestions, including one to allow the Soviets to appear on television and propagandize the American people. The United States is said to have been dickering with the Soviets for some time over just such an arrangement.

• LBJ's insistence that Congress meet in an extraordinary night session cost the TV networks an estimated $750,000. That is what the networks lost when regularly scheduled commercial series had to be cancelled to guarantee LBJ the biggest possible audience.

• Johnson's State of the Union message didn't please at least three Southern Democratic senators: Harry Byrd and Willis Robertson of Virginia and John McClellan of Arkansas. All feel that LBJ's endless federal proposals will continue to run the nation into debt. Sen. Byrd also spoke out sharply against LBJ's proposal to outlaw right-to-work. "The President spoke of maintaining our freedoms," Byrd said, "but he proposed to outlaw states' right-to-work laws. . .I shall oppose this."

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• Rep. Edward Gurney (R.-Fla.) rapped the chief executive for glossing over the situation in South Viet Nam: "He gave no explanation of why we are losing this war in Southeast Asia, nor any hint of a different approach so vitally needed. And no mention was made of Communist-inspired attacks all over the world against the United States—only a promise of more trade and cooperation with Communist nations."

New GOP Leadership

The changing of the GOP guard in the House has not been a blow to the conservatives, despite the claims of some liberal pundits. Indeed, the selection of Michigan's Gerald Ford as House GOP leader and Wisconsin's Melvin Laird as chairman of the House Republican Conference Committee should strengthen the conservative cause.

Ideologically, there is not much difference between Ford and his defeated opponent, Charles Halleck, former House GOP leader. Only three percentage points separate them on the reliable ACA *Index*, but Ford is a younger, more energetic individual and beat Halleck largely for these non-philosophical reasons.

Furthermore, Halleck, while no liberal himself, was the recipient of strong support from certain GOP liberals, including New Yorkers Ogden Reid and John Lindsay, both ultra-liberal members of the so-called "Wednesday group" of Republicans. Associates of Lindsay, in fact, say he feels Ford might actually be more closely aligned to the thinking of Barry Goldwater than Halleck was.

Ford, also, had impressive support from conservatives after promising that he would not use his position as a means to gain the 1968 GOP nomination for Michigan Gov. George Romney. Unlike Romney, Ford spoke out strongly for Goldwater during the campaign in both Michigan and in several other states.

In a letter mailed to Michigan Republicans during the campaign, Ford wrote he agreed with Goldwater "90 per cent of the time" and strongly urged all Republicans to support him.

Conservatives can also welcome the elevation of Rep. Melvin Laird to chairmanship of the House Republican Conference. Brilliant, young (only 42), Laird shaped the highly conservative 1964 Republican platform for Sen. Goldwater's presidential campaign. He is expected to infuse new life into the Republican conference, which has a strong hand in presenting GOP policy in the House, and he should prove a strong backstop to Ford.

Laird is editor of *The Conservative Papers*, a compilation of 14 essays on major issues written by leading conservatives. He is also author of *A House Divided: America's Strategy Gap*, published by the conservative publishing house of Henry Regnery Co. In this book Laird calls for the United States to adopt a tough, anti-Communist position around the world.

Our African Policy

The anti-Tshombe forces in the State Department continue to gain in power, as the recent Security Council vote in the United Nations demonstrates.

The United States, along with the Soviet Union, voted for a "compromise" resolution on December 30 which asked the anti-Tshombe Organization of African Unity, led by such pro-Communist African nationalists as Ben Bella and Nasser, to help work out a solution to the Congo. Moreover, the Security Council vote demanded that Tshombe remove from his armed forces "white mercenaries," although it is common knowledge that Tshombe would probably have lost the Congo to the rebels without them.

• Secretary of State Dean Rusk is coming under fire from America's allies in Europe and Africa for a speech he gave last year at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington. Rusk strongly indicated that it was American policy to remove white influence and control from Africa.

Though experts by and large now agree that the major problems in Africa stem from too much freedom too soon to uneducated natives, Rusk, to the contrary, stated that "Most of Africa's . . . unresolved problems lie in the southern end of the continent where government by consent of the governed has not yet been achieved. This area includes the Republic of South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique." All these territories, of course, are ruled by whites.

Rusk then underscored the American position by stating: "The United States has a deep interest in events in southern Africa. In our dealings with those areas our position is based firmly on the belief that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Asia—We Prepare for Defeat

Despite LBJ's statement on Viet Nam last week, Democratic congressional leaders are saying that the Administration hopes to achieve a "negotiated settlement" there sometime in the near future. Preparing the American public for a possible withdrawal operation, it is believed, is none other than Lyndon Johnson's close friend, Georgia's Richard Russell, chairman of the powerful Senate Armed Services Committee.

Sen. Russell has made it plain that he doesn't think we should be in Viet Nam. The Georgian, who visited LBJ at his Texas ranch after the election, is believed to have been behind the vetoing of U.S. Ambassador Maxwell Taylor's recommendations that expansion of the war in Viet Nam was necessary for winning. (Taylor, as usual, soft-pedaled the idea when it became politically dangerous.)

Now Russell has announced that his influential committee will "re-examine" American policy in Asia.

Joseph Alsop, a columnist with high Administration contacts and a long string of accurate predictions as far as Asia is concerned, says the "main effect of the Russell re-examination, of course, will be to soften the blow of defeat in Southeast Asia, if and when it comes."

"When the faith of our friends has been betrayed and the grim tyrants in Peking are doing what they please with Southeast Asia," writes Alsop, "what then is to happen? The answer, surely, is that if the loss of China poisoned American public life for a decade, this defeat that looms ahead will poison our public life for a generation."

• Add Senator Mike Mansfield to the swelling chorus of those who feel that the Democratic Administration's engineering of Ngo Dinh Diem's overthrow is the main reason for our troubles in Viet Nam. On a recent "Meet the Press" program, Mansfield said the "situation is delicate, difficult and dangerous" in [South Viet Nam]. . . what we are doing now, I think, is paying for the mistake of getting rid of Diem when we did."

The Lobbyists' Inaugural

"President Johnson's 1965 inaugural is being run by lobbyists—and planned for the few, not for the many. It shapes up as a gigantic reception for government big-wigs and fat cat Democratic party donors. John Q. Public may be the forgotten man."

So observed James McCartney, Washington correspondent for the Chicago *Daily News*, in a recent dispatch. The Inaugural Committee's chairman is Dale Miller, a professional lobbyist for such big-spending firms as the Texas Gulf Sulphur Co., the Dallas (Tex.) Chamber of Commerce, and the Intracoastal Canal Assn. of Louisiana and Texas.

The executive director of the inaugural is William Neale Roache, whom McCartney describes as "a lobbyist for the American Trucking Assn. [who] is not registered by name." According to McCartney, "Roache declines to answer questions about how he is making his living."

CAPITOL CAMERA

• *Edwin L. Dale Jr., a very liberal business reporter for the New York* Times, *says the idea that automation is a threat to the jobs of American workers "took a bad statistical beating in 1964." At least four sets of government statistics compiled by the Department of Labor, says Dale, reveal that "up to now at least, automation is posing no special problem for American society." In 1964, in fact, figures show that factory layoffs apparently fell to the lowest level since 1955. Even liberal government officials, says Dale, feel that "automation may have slightly increased the rate of productivity growth in the economy. . . ." While Dale doesn't say so, these figures deal a body blow to the labor boss theory that huge amounts of money must be spent on various federal programs to solve the "automation problem."*

• Will Franklin Delano Roosevelt Jr. be the next carpetbagger to sit in the U.S. Senate? A report in the Martinsville (W. Va.) *Journal* says that young Roosevelt, a New Yorker, may establish residence in West Virginia to run for the Senate in 1966. Editor Paul Martin revealed that FDR Jr. may run for the Senate seat now held by the aging Jennings Randolph, a Democrat. Rumors in West Virginia have Roosevelt purchasing an estate in that state's Jefferson County to establish residence for the Senate race.

ROOSEVELT

• *Question of the week: Why did the Democrats choose Sen. Russell Long (D.-La.) to be the party's whip? Long has voted against Medicare, against the test-ban treaty, against aid to Communist nations, against the civil rights bill and he is now taking the lead against the Democratic majority's attempts to dilute the filibuster.*

• Pennsylvania Gov. William Scranton last week delivered a State of the State address aping LBJ's State of the Union message. The liberal GOP governor, in his Harrisburg talk, said that he was "deeply indebted to President Johnson" for his pushing the Appalachian "war on poverty." He said, too, that "people were surprised, I understand, that the President laid out such an enormous program for the Congress. I say to you that I am pleased and happy that he did." Scranton called for more state spending on mental health, unemployment compensation and industrial retraining.

SCRANTON

• *The California Federation of Young Democrats has demanded a "political settlement" in South Viet Nam. The resolution, which called also for a "U.N.-supervised cease fire" in the embattled nation, was supported by the group's ultra-liberal state president, Josiah Beeman.*

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The Political Education of George Murphy

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

In practically every reference to George Murphy, the new senator from California, he is ticketed as the "song and dance man." There is always a tinge of patronizing in such a description. Yet show business is part of politics, as Ronald Reagan, a theatrical friend of George Murphy's, demonstrated when he made the most potent conservative speech of the entire 1964 campaign.

People forget that Tom Dewey was a singer, that the elder Bob La Follette yearned to be a Skakespearean actor, and that the success of the late President Kennedy's campaign was at least partially due to the advice of his father, old Joe Kennedy, who had learned a trick or two about the arts of showmanship in his career as a Hollywood impresario.

But if George Murphy need not apologize for being a showman, he has a right to resent any implication that he is just an ex-hoofer and no more. Actually, he has had more types of experience than most aspirants to important political careers.

His father was Mike Murphy, a famous college and Olympic track coach. George himself had three years of Yale, leaving for economic reasons, and his first job was in Wall Street as a runner in the days of the great madness of the late '20s. He got into show business because he married a dancer who quickly perceived his natural aptitude as a dancing partner who could carry an act sufficiently well to keep the family afloat during the perilous years of the Great Depression.

What really makes George Murphy an exciting prospect in politics is his experience as a labor leader. He found himself president of the Screen Actors Guild at a time when the Communists, in collaboration with some fellow-traveling liberals, were making a big pitch to infiltrate the key positions of power in Hollywood.

There have been many complaints about the "blacklisting" of Communist screen writers, but what is forgotten is the period in which the Communists and their sympathizers tried with all sorts of dirty maneuvers to force patriotic authors such as the humorous playwright Morrie Ryskind into a limbo of fashionable contempt. George Murphy was too tough, to wise, and too patriotic on his own part to let the leftists succeed in their attempted takeover of the Screen Actors Guild. He remembers ruefully his period as a labor leader. "Those Hollywood liberals," he has said. "If you didn't fit their viewpoint, they tried to destroy you."

There's nothing like an experience with hidden Communists and their not-so-hidden dupes in a labor organization to prepare a man for understanding of the worldwide political scene. One can read all the books about Marxism, the Bolshevik Revolution and the Cold War and still be unprepared to detect the tunnelings of the enemies of the capitalist and democratic West. But if you have ever been in a union with Communists, you really know.

California's new senator, George Murphy, at right, chats with Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) and Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.).

This columnist was cured of his innocence about the tricks of the Communists and their liberal stooges in the late 1930s and the early 1940s when he was a member of the Newspaper Guild at Time, Inc. After a long struggle the anti-Communists won their particular fight to take over the leadership of the Time Guild chapter. Those of us who witnessed the fight from close up—and the group included the late Whittaker Chambers, who always knew when the Communists were likely to pull a parliamentary trick—would never be fooled for long in later contacts with the fellow-traveling left.

George Murphy has had lots of experience in California Republican politics ever since he left the Democratic party to support Wendell Willkie. In 1953 he was state chairman for his party, a difficult job which he performed with some brilliance at a time when the various factions of Sen. Knowland, Gov. Knight and Vice President Nixon were trying to cut each other's throat. But the thing that has really prepared George Murphy for the Senate is his labor leader experience with the sort of leftist that always strikes from ambush.

Sen. George Murphy will not be fooled as he watches the Communists maneuver on the world stage.

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ADA's Recipe for Disaster

From the Rockford (Ill.) *Register-Republic*

If the left-wing Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) had its way, the total authority and omnipotence of the federal government would be unquestioned.

State and local governments would have to take their tin cups in hand and beg funds for their survival from "big brother" in Washington.

Every facet in ADA's proposed program of legislation calls for an accelerated flow of federal power in the nation's capital.

One of the most frightening of the ADA's suggestions is the creation of a special investigative agency to take over civil rights controversies "since the FBI does not seem able to do the job." What the ADA is calling for, in essence, is a federal police force with powers far greater than that of any investigative agency. Such an organization would provide a stepping stone to an eventual police state.

The ADA doesn't think that a $100 billion budget next year is adequate to start President Johnson's "Great Society" program. It suggests a budget of from $110 billion to $115 billion, and to blazes with the national debt.

It calls for the repeal of Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley law which permits states to pass right-to-work laws, a further encroachment on the rights of the individual states.

The ADA proposes federal election registrars for all elections—federal, state or local—thus taking away local authority over the election machinery.

It proposes the use of federal rent stamps for a program under which low-income families would be paid the difference between their rent and 20 per cent of family income, discouraging home ownership and promoting reliance on the federal government.

Although the American public is fed up with the vastness, waste and inefficiency of the foreign aid program, the ADA thinks Congress should pass a foreign aid giveaway of $6.5 billion next year, twice this year's amount.

It urges passage of a $40 billion program of federal aid to education as a start toward an eventual system of free education from the nursery school to post-graduate school—all under federal control.

The ADA has a lot more planks in its program, but altogether they're too much to stomach at one time. Put the package together and it adds up to complete federal control over the lives of every individual citizen and a wild spending spree that could only end in national disaster.

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RARE MEMORIAL—The people of Finland, grateful for the relief the late Herbert Hoover brought to them after World War I, have bestowed on him a truly fitting and rare memorial. His name has been embodied into the language in the world *huuvere*. It means charity.—From *Parade*

□ □ □

"CO-EXISTENCE is as nonsensical as fried snowballs."—*General Zhukov.*

Court Decisions Help

U.S. Reds Are Mapping New Drive

From the San Diego *Union*

Supported by the judicial branch of government, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other law-enforcement agencies have in recent years suppressed U.S. Communists to the point where their malignancy stopped growing.

Now reports to top Washington officials indicate that the party has reversed directions and is planning a major new effort in the United States in 1965.

In fact, the party is becoming bold enough to announce meetings, move more and more into the open and proclaim the major emphasis will be on emotional and susceptible youth.

It is ironic that the Red boldness has come about largely as a result of liberal decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court, which has the duty to uphold the Constitution.

Purpose of the Communists is to overthrow the Constitution and the free American principles it has established.

Other contributing factors to the new bids by U.S. Reds for greater power are just as ironic. These are recent intensified criticism of right-wing organizations that work for increased patriotism, and the State Department's efforts at more accommodation with Soviet Russia, the Communist stronghold.

Surging with renewed vitality after the November election, U.S. Communists issued party members a memorandum calling for better organization, extension of the party's base and improved work.

It emphasizes that more focus should be brought on susceptible youths, both students and workers, that socialism must become a nicer word, civil rights groups must be exploited and the distribution of propaganda must increase.

Their bold new bid stems from Supreme Court liberalization of the McCarran and Smith Internal Security Acts. And now they can travel directly to Moscow for on-the-spot instructions because the Supreme Court ruled that U.S. Communists cannot be denied passports.

Isn't it strange that American boys are losing their lives in Viet Nam and the United States is spending millions abroad to contain communism while it eases the pressure on the atheistic creed at home? Yet the brand of communism is no different in Viet Nam than it is in the United States.

Making things easier for Communists in the United States cannot in any sense be construed as an extension of the freedoms in the Bill of Rights. These are people without the word "freedom" in their lexicon and they would extend their beliefs to us.

Godless communism seeks to destroy us and make Washington a satellite of Moscow. Misguided public officials who think otherwise need the full brunt of public opinion to regain their perspective.

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Pro-Union GE Ruling

NLRB Strips Employe of Individuality

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

The National Labor Relations Board handed down its opinion in the General Electric case on December 16. Most of the press comment since that time has been directed toward a single aspect of the case—the company's action in presenting its initial offer to the union on a "take-it-or-leave-it" basis.

The board's decision, declaring this an unfair labor practice, is undeniably of great importance in the field, but a close reading of the text of the opinion suggests another angle even more disturbing in its implications. This is the attitude of the board toward the employe as employe.

Running through every paragraph, weaving between the lines, is not only a bias against management, which we have come to expect from this board, but more ominously a bias against the individual worker. He seems scarcely to exist in the eyes of the board. This bloodless verdict might have been composed on a computer; it reduces the human being to a cipher.

The facts of the case are well known. Briefly, General Electric devised an approach to its labor negotiations intended to provide a clean break from the usual hostility of adversaries at the bargaining table. Ordinarily, labor asks at the outset for more than it expects to settle for in the end, and management offers less than it expects to wind up paying. Labor pleads its need; management pleads its poverty. Strike threats fly; offers and counter-offers go back and forth; tempers get short; and ultimately, with or without a strike, the dispute is resolved by the signing of a contract.

Under the leadership of its former vice president, Lemuel R. Boulware, GE determined to put an end to this "flea-bitten Eastern type of cunning and dishonest but pointless haggling." The company proposed to maintain a continuous study of employe requests, backed by various social and economic investigations. Instead of haggling behind closed doors, it would then make public at contract time a "fair and firm offer," holding nothing back, and it would confer only on points of detail.

In the summer of 1960 GE went into negotitations with the International Union of Electrical Workers under the Boulware approach. The union spokesmen balked. The company publicized its offer widely, agreed to a few minor changes, and stood firm. A three-week strike resulted. In the end, GE's basic offer was accepted. The union brought multiple charges of unfair labor practices, and on December 16 the NLRB found the company guilty down the line.

It is clear from the board's opinion that the company's greatest sin was to communicate directly with its own employes. This was improper, the board said, because "the union's [the employes'] two spokesmen are two entirely separate entities, free from one another, having no visible connection."

Thus GE is accused of stating its position "to the union and to its employes," as if the one had nothing to do with the other. The company's unlawful practice is to sell its views "directly to employes so that the employes in turn may influence union acceptance." The offense lies in "equipping employes to render their own independent judgment on matters commonly affecting their own interests and those of the company."

Again, the unlawful conduct was in "deluging employes with communications designed to induce them to pressure the union." The employer made certain announcements "to employes even before he announced to the union." The company's communications amounted to a "deluge;" to a "flood;" to a "massive program of by-passing."

Clearly, to a majority of the NLRB, the relationship of employer and employe does not exist; the sole lawful relationship is between the employer and "the union," by which is meant—in this case—the tiny group of top union officials composing the national bargaining team.

So conceived, "the union" takes on an Olympian status. Brief quotation cannot convey the sense of *lese-majeste* in the board's shocked observation that a certain company offer "was responsive to the union's demands only in small part." This offer contained features "that were entirely different from those that had been requested by the union." Think of it!

And then the company behaved even less respectfully: It sent copies of the offer to all employes the next morning, "giving as its reason that employes should know at once what was on the table." Intolerable!

One member of the board, Boyd Leedom, dissented mildly. He felt that the company was no more stubborn in presenting its initial offer than the union spokesmen in refusing it. If the company had said some harsh things about the union bargainers, these were balanced by "the union's equally inflammatory publications and comments" about the company. "I am particularly disturbed," he wrote, "by the treatment accorded Respondent's communications. Surely the Respondent can lawfully communicate with its employes."

If the board's opinion is upheld in the courts, surely it will develop that employers cannot lawfully do any such thing. They will be limited to communicating lawfully with union officials only, who will then communicate with the faceless bums back in the shop. What price free speech in 1965?

(Copyright 1965, *Newsday*)

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REPORT—According to the Federal Power Commission, 73 per cent of the electricity generated by the Tennessee Valley Authority in 1963 came from steam plants. TVA was originally set up to take advantage of the water power in the area.

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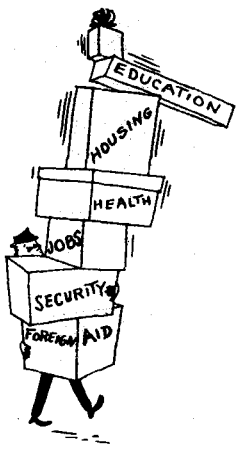

'Giving' versus Earning

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Reprinted from the *Freeman*

One need not be a Scrooge to realize that the Christmas spirit is not a formula for carrying on the activities of the workaday world. Individuals and nations alike must earn their way in the world. There is no Santa Claus with a boundless overflowing sack of presents.

These ideas might seem fairly obvious. But they are worth stating because it is rather the fashion in current thinking to assume that, if enough money can be extracted from taxpayers who are still solvent to "give" housing, education, and other supposedly withheld benefits to the "underprivileged" at home—and steel mills, power plants and other aids to industrialization to impoverished nations abroad—all will be for the best in the world.

What is overlooked in the outwardly benevolent view is the indispensable human dynamo of individual initiative and ambition.

When New York and a number of other Northern cities were torn up with senseless and disgraceful riots in slum areas, these outbreaks were condoned on the ground that the rioters were protesting against proper standards of education and housing which had supposedly been "withheld" from them. But no one, to the best of my knowledge, undertook a serious study to determine whether those who were most active in assaulting policemen and looting liquor and other stores had made an earnest effort to make good use of the educational facilities which were offered to them.

The best educational methods and plant imaginable are of little use without cooperation from those who are supposed to benefit from them.

To emphasize, as much current talk and writing does, the supposed necessity of giving without any emphasis on the concurrent obligation of earning, is to put the cart before the horse. The most hopeful soldiers in the war on poverty are individuals who are determined to escape and overcome it, who have imbibed the spirit of Scarlett O'Hara, heroine of *Gone With the Wind*. As she grubs for bare subsistence in the devastated fields of her ruined plantation, she makes the vow: "I'll never be poor again."

Scarlett O'Hara's spirit was in the main that of some 10 or 12 million dispossessed and uprooted Germans and people of German origin, driven from their homes at the end of the war and dumped in the German Federal Republic with nothing but what they wore on their backs and carried in their hands. At first the special distress of this large group of forced immigrants seemed an almost unsurmountable social problem for a country devasted by war bombing and suffering all the other consequences of a lost war.

Mr. Chamberlin is a skilled observer and reporter of economic and political conditions at home and abroad. In addition to writing a number of books, he has lectured widely and is a contributor to the Wall Street Journal *and numerous magazines.*

Before long it became evident that they were an asset, not a liability, in a reviving Germany desperately short of manpower because of war losses. Their fierce drive made them pacemakers for the rest of the Germans in the reconstruction and expansion of the national economy. Today the refugees are so completely absorbed in German life that they require no special political or other representation. And this genuine miracle of rehabilitation, the productive resettlement in a crowded country of over 10 million new inhabitants, was accomplished without government direction and regimentation. Government departments gave what help and advice they could, but left the refugees free to seek their fortune as they chose.

It is a failure of judgment and emphasis to place the giving of this or that facility or advantage ahead of the will and determination of the individual to make full use of his opportunities.

No exhaustive research would be needed to turn up thousands of instances of men and women who emerged from early poverty to achieve business or professional success and who look back on their early years of hardship as a useful apprenticeship in self-discipline and character building.

The emphasis on "giving" (by a state that can only "give" by taking away from someone else) as opposed to earning by individual effort is part of a general decline in the sense of individual moral responsibility. This may be traced in considerable degree to the influence of two European theorists, Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud. The interests of these men lay in quite different fields. But the logical conclusion of their beliefs is that man is not a morally free agent, able and obligated to choose between right and wrong, between good and evil.

Marx and Freud

In Marx's view of the world the overshadowing issue is the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, which is predestined to end in the triumph of the latter and the establishment of a Socialist or Communist form of society. Besides being a dogmatic atheist, Marx—like his politically most successful disciples, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung—brushed aside moral ideas as fictions of the capitalist class, designed to justify the enslavement of the workers. The Marxist philosophy is deeply suffused with the conviction that human character and human action are primarily determined by class relations.

Freud's theory of psychoanalysis leads to the same conclusion, that man is incapable of exercising free will in moral judgment, by a different road. For, according to Freud, the subconscious impulses, over which the human being has no control, tend to dominate his character. Another Freudian teaching is that all experiences in the first phase of childhood are of the greatest importance and, in combination with the individual's inherited sex constitution, are decisive in shaping character.

Of course, comparatively few Americans possess a firm grasp of Marxist economics and of the principles of Freudian psychoanalysis. Marx and Freud use technical language and can hardly be described as "easy reading." But, with the aid of popularization, both have considerably influenced the intellectual climate of the time—and in a direction adverse to individual responsibility.

This determinist view of human character leads to an exaggerated conception of the supreme importance of environment, to the view of the individual as a kind of inanimate vessel, into which some beneficent state authority should pour given doses of education and welfare. Yet everyday experience provides constant refutation of this view.

Take two boys, perhaps members of the same family, who grow up in the same environment in a big city. One joins a corner gang and becomes first a juvenile delinquent, then a full-fledged criminal. The other gets a job, studies law at night, and finally emerges completely from his original bleak and obscure surroundings. The harsh environment to which one succumbs is a spur and stimulus to the other. In neither case is the result predestined; it is a matter of individual character and will.

Slum Fallacy

Slums have long been associated in the public imagination with vice and crime, and optimists have held forth the prospect that, once slum dwellers are rehoused in better quarters, their bad habits will automatically disappear. Here again, experience shows that the problem is more complicated. A mere look around in any large city shows an enormous number of rehousing projects, mostly financed by public funds. Modern technology makes it easy to demolish old rickety buildings and put up brick apartment houses with all conveniences.

But all too often these apartment houses become notorious as headquarters of gangs and centers of vice, places into which doctors, postmen, and others on legitimate errands fear, with some reason, to enter. It seems just possible that it is not so much slums that make people as people who make slums.

Better education and technical training facilities are certainly desirable objectives in themselves. It may be hoped that as these become more available in areas of widespread unemployment some tangible results in the struggle against poverty will be observed. But the best tools will be useless unless there is a will to use them. Plans that take no account of the necessity to spark, in their beneficiaries, the human dynamo, the will to overcome obstacles, to succeed, are built on sand.

How to spark this dynamo where it is nonexistent is a problem more difficult and complex than the erection of new housing projects, the provision of school supplies, machines, work benches. But without the vital, indispensable impulse from within the individual, too often ignored or treated as negligible by social planners, no amount of merely material effort can be counted on to yield permanent satisfactory fruits.

The same considerations, in a different sphere, apply to the new and unprecedented policy, mainly practiced by the United States, of allocating taxpayers' money to relieve distress and promote industrial and economic development in foreign countries. In the past, compassionate individuals and organizations raised funds to help the victims of famines, floods, earthquakes and other natural disasters. And private investment took care of the development problem.

Despite an outflow of over $100 billion in various forms of uncompensated American largesse to foreign lands, it is by no means certain that the new method is more effective than the old, still less that America's foreign policy aims and the stability of the more or less free world would collapse if it were not for the annual foreign aid charge in the United States budget. Some indisputable facts suggest that the will of people to produce energetically and effectively is much more important for their well-being than a large inflow of government-to-government aid.

Aid Fallacies

Finland, for example, received no postwar American aid and was saddled with a substantial Soviet indemnity bill. Yet the Finns, by and large, are enjoying their traditional tidy, modest, but fairly comfortable standard of living. India, by contrast, has received over $2 billion worth of American aid, plus smaller amounts from the Soviet Union and Great Britain. Yet there has scarcely been an appreciable dent in India's age-old poverty.

Indeed, one of India's most respected economists, Prof. B. R. Shenoy, is convinced that the American so-called aid has encouraged the Indian government planners to push on with what Shenoy regards as the disastrous policy of concentrating capital investment on industrial plants too big for India's present needs, while neglecting the agriculture which is the main source of livelihood for most of the Indian people.

At the most recent meeting of the Mt. Pelerin Society, an international organization of economists, political scientists, and others committed to the ideal of a free economy, the international nature of this problem of the government-planned economy was emphasized by a comment which I overheard in a corridor.

Shenoy had just completed a very critical exposition of the corruption, maladministration and misdirection of resources which have accompanied state planning of the economy in India. A representative from Ecuador remarked: "And this is the system they want to force on us in Latin America—through the Alliance for Progress."

Buying Good Will

It is a proved illusion that friends can be bought through lavish programs of foreign aid. The good will that may be won by an individual American who goes out on his own and does pioneer work as teacher, physician, engineer, is seldom carried over to bureaucratic dispensers of state aid. The sequel to foreign aid is often carping criticism of what has been done—and insistent demands for more.

By and large, individuals and nations usually obtain the standard of well-being which they earn by hard, intelligent, efficient work. Attempts to enhance this standard through handouts, whether of the welfare state at home or of government-to-government assistance abroad, lead to more disillusionment than success.

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Inside Labor

By VICTOR RIESEL

A columnist should have the strength of his predictions as well as his convictions. But, as a charter member of the Crystal Gazers Union, I must point out that its constitution says quite plainly that we are not responsible for the fulfillment of any forecast. On this premise—and since so many of our predictions in recent years have been dramatically confirmed—here is what will happen in 1965:

Though virtually unnoticed now, one of the biggest stories building up for the coming year will be the launching of a *movement for permanent income as an inherent right.* This movement wants more than a guaranteed annual wage. It will seek guaranteed lifetime income whether a man works or not, and permanent welfare benefits for the average man during his entire lifetime even after retirement and for his survivors.

Watch, also, for the beginning of labor's campaign for a four-day week. Insiders refer to this schedule as four out of six—Monday through Thursday; Tuesday through Friday; Wednesday through Saturday (at regular pay) with three straight days off.

Look to one of the younger, more dynamic labor leaders, Howard Coughlin, president of the Office Employes International Union, to try for the unique breakthrough. He has such proposals on the bargaining table at six major steamship lines. If his union makes it, the new pact will set the pace for this complete change in the workweek among other unions, especially in the non-blue collar field.

* * *

Biggest labor story of the year will be President Johnson's handling of the two major strike threats whose timetables run parallel. The Supreme Court will rule that the rail unions can strike and the President's problem will be how to head off a $27 million-a-day national train stoppage.

At just about the same time, the United Steelworkers of America will be highballing it for a national steel strike. Both crises will be screeching at full speed 'round about May or June.

Prediction here is that Mr. Johnson will send word privately that both sides had better settle or he will not interfere with congressional moves for compulsory arbitration.

* * *

At least one Soviet espionage ring operating inside our intelligence services will be exposed.

J. Edgar Hoover will not resign in '65, but will go into private industry during '66.

Bob Kennedy will build a brain trust, much as Jack Kennedy did, and become one of the most active senators on Capitol Hill right through his freshman year. Watch for important policy statements on foreign affairs and several trips abroad, too.

* * *

Look for a series of liberal Republicans and middle-of-the-road GOP businessmen to be appointed by President Johnson to second and third-echelon posts on such government units as the National Labor Relations Board and federal departments.

* * *

Regardless of official AFL-CIO predictions that "by 1966 jobs will be vanishing from the U.S. job market at a 70,000-per-week pace because of automation," jobs will increase in '65. By year's end the total work forces will be climbing towards 80 million jobs, many of them by the new computer industry, the development of the nuclear power plant field and the space exploration feeder industry.

* * *

The Communist Party, U.S.A., will be heavily refinanced by the usual Soviet money-passing techniques and will become increasingly tougher in its demands for strikes on the industrial front, turbulence on the university campuses and in the so-called "peace" campaign. There will be "anti-imperialist" demonstrations and a revival of the old "bring the boys back" campaigns to get U.S. troops out of South Viet Nam, the Congo and Western Europe.

* * *

You can expect a reshuffling of the leadership of American labor, but when the AFL-CIO meets in San Francisco at its biennial convention next fall or early winter, George Meany will still be the Mr. Labor of America.

Insiders also anticipate the rise of Leonard Woodcock as the second most powerful figure in the United Auto Workers. He's head of its General Motors and aerospace divisions. This would put him in the top leadership post if Walter Reuther does not recover from surgery as rapidly as expected.

* * *

The civil rights drive is just really beginning. Next objective will be the effective opening of the unions to millions of Negro workers in the rank-and-file lists and thousands in the leadership posts.

The drives will be intense in the North and, if the construction unions don't open up, the Negro civil rights leaders will organize committees to call on the White House to support their campaign for the high-paying jobs, especially in the construction field, and halt building projects with "lie-down" demonstrations. As a final move they'll launch their own unions.

* * *

Abroad, Harold Wilson, from his vantage point as British prime minister, will revitalize the old Socialist International around himself and Italy's new president, Giuseppe Saragat. And he will count on Berlin's Mayor Willy Brandt to capture Germany for the Socialists and thus create a fourth power bloc in the world.

There will be prosperity, no major war, and peace—with ulcers.

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HANDOUTS—Relief load in New York state is growing by almost 6,000 cases a month despite record prosperity.
—From NAM's "In Brief"

WATCH OUT FOR THE GANG AT THE GULCH

Conservative action program provides model for other states

From the Anaheim (Calif.) *Bulletin*

While the Republicans in the rest of the nation quibble and argue over who is going to be the leader, Californians follow the belief that work, not words, produces the results—it is the ultimate accomplishment that counts, not who gets the publicity pictures.

Spearheading the drive to continue the trend of the conservatives within the state are the United Republicans of California (UROC). The organization represents more than 12,000 members and works in both partisan and non-partisan fields. UROC encompasses the theory that anything or any office which involves the use of tax funds or has the opportunity of influencing or controlling the people in the area of government should be the concern of the people. That to properly instill the conservative philosophy in government, every phase of it must be manned by those who adhere to the conservative beliefs.

Such is basically sound and has been born out by practice and experience. An example of this can be traced during the days of the Roosevelt Administration and the switch to that of Eisenhower. Under Roosevelt the government became liberal and planted the seeds upon which centralized federal control has flourished. It was the start of socialism.

This philosophy was followed throughout the nation even into the public school system. School texts, reference books, even dictionaries and encyclopedias were slanted to follow. Those elected to school boards were successful due to their adherence to this trend.

When Eisenhower became President, he was elected on a platform that was in direct opposition to that of Roosevelt. Though he himself did not initiate changes within government that would bring about a change of trend, those placed in such offices as public school board were elected for their change in philosophy. There were many heated arguments between taxpayer and school boards over the change in text, reference material and methods of instruction aimed at a change in the desired pattern of changes in government.

To accomplish their goal UROC has adopted the following program designed to instruct and inform, thus bringing about unity and cooperative organization based upon a desire of the individual rather than to have the people follow a dictated program:

• A 15-minute weekly television program to present the conservative viewpoint on state and national issues. TV star Ronald Reagan may be asked to host the weekly series.

• A full time research and public relations office in Sacramento, to help develop the conservative viewpoint on state issues.

• A co-ordinating committee of GOP volunteer organizations in California—all of which are in conservative hands—to help reduce factionalism in the party.

Taking the problem directly to the people, the committee plans a house-to-house survey to find out the various issues that are considered important by the people, to determine the type of candidate preferred and to develop a reservoir of workers. Back of their program is the coming gubernatorial, senate and assembly races in 1966, and of course the eventual presidential election in 1968.

The theory is excellent. Political action has become an everyday problem. No longer can the people be interested only at election time or during a period of crisis. Government will never work by itself as long as that government is to be the people. If and when the people find they can relinquish their concern over government, they will be under a dictator or some form of monarchy.

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Humphrey Friend

Projected Kampelman Appointment Is Causing Bipartisan Opposition

From the Allen-Scott Report

The heat's on to head off the embarrassing Senate furor over a politics-loaded appointment to the largest and most prestigious federal circuit court—the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

Max Kampelman, 44-year-old lawyer-lobbyist, is definitely slated to be named to this eminent bench. That's the authoritative word from White House insiders and close Kampelman associates. Also, the FBI is known to be making the check required by law for presidential appointments.

This backstage information is raising Democratic as well as Republican hackles.

Principal reason for this adverse bipartisan reaction is that the only apparent basis for Kampelman's selection is politics—his long and close ties with Vice President-elect Hubert Humphrey.

Kampelman's riled critics indignantly contend they know of no other valid

Washington attorney Max Kampelman

grounds for his elevation to this high federal tribunal. As proof they are citing:

• The New York-born Minnesota-educated attorney has never tried a case in court, is wholly without judicial experience.

• He and his law partners are registered as lobbyists under the Lobbyist Registration Act. In a report on such registrations published in the Aug. 31, 1964, *Congressional Record*, Kampelman's firm is listed nine separate times—in each instance as lobbyist for a different Indian tribe. Washington attorneys rate Kampelman's firm as foremost in this type of representation.

• The District of Columbia Democratic Central Committee has pointedly ignored Kampelman for a place on this circuit court. Instead, the committee, which elected the Capital for President Johnson by a 6-to-1 landslide, has unanimously recommended three others: Walter Gardner, chairman of the D.C. Democratic Committee; James Francis Reilly, former head of the D.C. Public Utilities Commission; F. Joseph Donahue, another chairman of the D.C. Democratic Committee. Sen. Alan Bible (D-Nev.), head of the Senate District Committee, strongly favors Reilly.

• In World War II Kampelman was a conscientious objector. Yet now he is a major in the Marine Corps Reserve. That's being attributed to a retired Marine brigadier, whose close friendship with Kampelman dates back to when the latter was legislative assistant to Humphrey in his first Senate term.

• This ex-Marine is a member of the board of the Washington bank that gave Bobby Baker the $125,000 unsecured loan. Kampelman is a founder of this bank, and was a board member and general counsel at the time the loan was granted. Since the headlined disclosure of this transaction, Kampelman has quietly quit the board, but is still general counsel.

• Republican members of the Senate investigating committee proposed that Kampelman be summoned for questioning, but were voted down by the Democratic majority. The Republican probers are still urging that and included his name in a list of witnesses they submitted when the committee recessed before the holidays. One reason is that the GOP senators have been told the bank made a second and still-unrevealed loan to Baker. Also that Kampelman is supposed to know all about this. He has made no move to come before the committee and testify on either loan.

• Before and during the Democratic national convention, Kampelman was very active in behalf of Humphrey. At the convention Kampelman stationed himself outside of Humphrey's hotel suite and screened callers. In an article published in a New York paper Kampelman gave the impression he had a lot to do with the planning and directing of Humphrey's successful drive for vice president.

Washington has more federal courts (11) and judges (86) than any other city in the country. There are five judicial vacancies in the Capital, and 12 in the rest of the nation. Two of the local vacancies are on the circuit court.

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NO COMPETITION—A. W. Moursand, LBJ's business associate, gets a government loan to start an investment company. Just small business investments—nothing big like television or vending machines.—Jack Wilson in the Washington *Evening Star*

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REINCARNATION—Tim Larkin, an information official with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, says he overheard this conversation in an elevator at quitting time. One government worker to another: "The only time I believe in reincarnation is at 4 p.m., when all these dead bodies come to life."—Don Maclean

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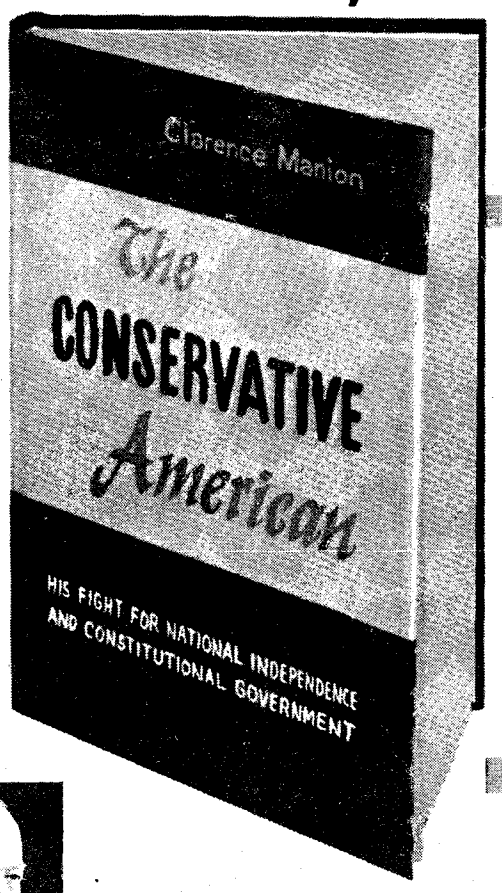
-Daniel A. Poling—Editor, Christian Herald



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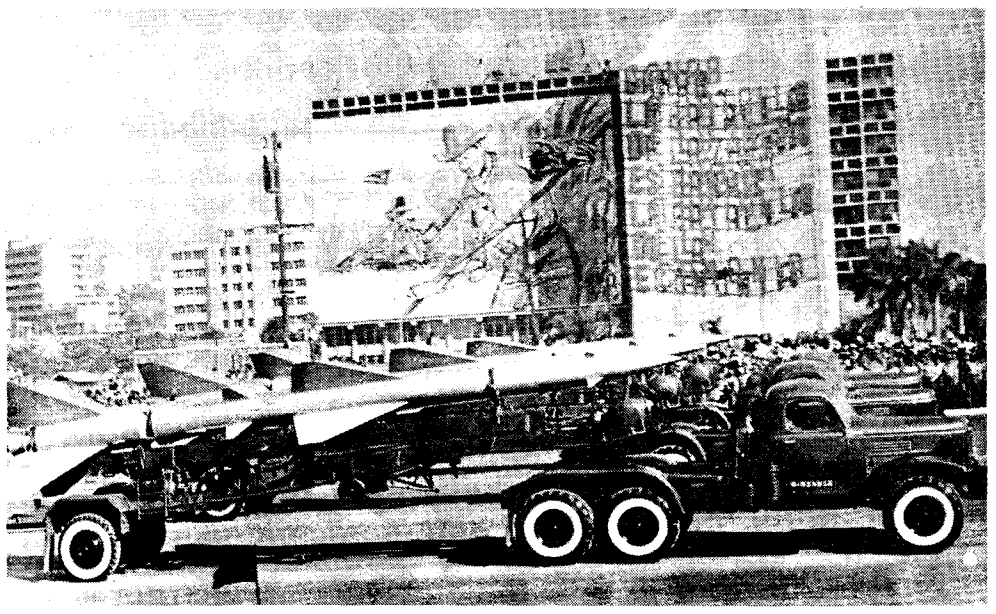

Soviet-made ground-to-ground missiles are paraded through Havana on the seventh anniversary of Castro's rise to power.

Castro's 7th Year

Cuban Reds Active 'Round the World

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

On New Year's Day Fidel Castro began his seventh year of Cuban tyranny.

His minions celebrated the season by driving 24 underground heroes into his electrified barbed wire on the Isle of Pines and hanging their bodies on butcher's meat hooks as cruel as any in Hitler's Plotzensee prison.

But, blessings be, his opponents continue their fight in spite of every conceivable discouragement—much of it from the government of the United States.

Information continues, too, from impeccable underground sources inside Cuba. As this column has reported (and utilized) many times, Cuban freedom fighters have heavily penetrated Castro's top echelon and operate within the cabal at the risk of their lives. Honor the brave.

The Cuban underground code for Castro remains *bola de churre* (dirty ball of grease). Certainly our public hardly realizes the scope of this stealthy ball's bounce as 1965 begins.

He aids embattled Cheddi B. Jagan in nearby British Guiana. The terrorists' 1964 record there has been: sugar cane arson, 139 cases; 1,445 homes and stores burned; 220 bombs thrown into streetcars, movies and crowds; 660 shootings and 326 clashes that killed helpless men and women as coldly as panthers in the night.

In South Viet Nam a Viet Cong batallion named for Fidel Castro fights against us. Another Red batallion is named after the Bay of Pigs. This announcement was made in Havana to the Cuban people by Melba Hernandez, chairman of the Cuban Committee for Viet Nam Solidarity.

We've hardly heard of "Peking Polly" and "Hanoi Hannah." But these Asian radio propagandists hiss at our American personnel in South Viet Nam like an adder. This hiss is relayed now for all Cuban ears through Castro's giant Russian-built radio station on Cuba's Cape Breton peninsula.

After parroting the Soviet line at the current U.N. session, No. 2 Castroite Ernesto (Che) Guevara promptly visited co-conspirator Ben Bella in Algeria, confirming again this famous Castro connection—the same Ben Bella who flew to Havana to castigate America on the very day President Kennedy greeted the North African assassin at the White House and said, "Mr. Prime Minister, we are proud to have you here."

Farther south in Africa, Ghananian Kwame Nkrumah announces on every provocation his "debt of leadership" to his hero of heroes, Fidel Castro.

To the African southeast, Castro militiamen train native guerrillas in newly-founded Burundi, a Sino-Soviet outpost bordering the Congo. The Stanleyville massacres were mounted in Burundi and these instructors were present.

Then there is Castro's connection with Zanzibar terrorist Abdulla Kassim Hagan, who returned from Moscow's Patrice Lumumba University, put a gun in the back of American Consul Frederick P. Picard and drove him off to Tanganyika on the mainland.

We know the name Mafia, but Mafia is also the name of an island in the Zanzibar group. Today it's a headquarters for Castro terrorist leaders infiltrating East Africa with the Red Chinese. A new wireless station connects Mafia with Cape Breton. The traffic averages three hours a night and Castro's obsequious Red brother Raul (underground name: "Pussycat") is the brain in command. His lair—now bomb-proofed—is in downtown Cienfuegos.

Meanwhile, the pressure on Castro to serve his Sino-Soviet masters mounts steadily. I have an estimate by the Bank for International Settlements in Basel, Switzerland, confirming how heavily the bearded tyrant is in hock to the USSR, its satellites and to Red China. The money due now approaches $1 billion.

The gist of this is the low price he gets for sugar and beef in payment for petroleum, gasoline, machinery and vehicles over and beyond military gifts.

But the Kremlin allows Castro no spare parts. Russia rations these to him—at an added high cost—exactly as it rations spare parts to Mao Tse-tung.

Che Guevara, heaven forbid, did not mention this Soviet leash on Cuba, Red China and all satellites alike in his December TV interview here. But it accounts for his cryptic reference to Cuba wanting "repair parts" from the United States.

However, the shocking fact is that Castro is already getting many of these from us through Mexico, where his relations remain good, although every other important Latin American country has broken with him and repudiated what Castro represents.

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How NAM Is Solving Unemployment

By DONALD I. ROGERS

It is not always easy and rarely is it popular to hold forth praise for the National Association of Manufacturers, (NAM), which, despite its unquestionably good intentions for the American economy, has not become much beloved by the average citizen.

The NAM has taken a bold step, however, in an effort to solve the spotty unemployment in the pools of poverty across the country. Viewed from any angle this is forward looking and progressive and, by most considerations, more of a contribution toward meeting the problem's solution than that being made by organized labor.

The bold step is called STEP—"Solutions to Employment Problems," and is based on the incongruous fact that a great many jobs are going unfilled, while a great many workers possessing needed skills are unable to find employment.

NAM officials point out that when the Brooklyn Navy Yard was closed, offers of employment began pouring in. Some jobs were offered in the immediate area, some in nearby states, and some as far away as Texas. The trade association is watching closely how the process of matching men with jobs is progressing.

It has been noted that there is great variety among the offers. There are opportunities for semi-skilled and unskilled workers as well as for the men who know the secrets of complicated trades, and the scientists and engineers.

The NAM is also studying reports from throughout the country, some filed by members of the association, of employers who are having difficulty finding personnel. With an unemployment rate of five per cent of the work force, it presents a puzzling contrast, a mystery.

NAM cites the complaint of a company located in the heart of the poverty belt of Appalachia. It has tried without success to fill 500 mining jobs there.

Through STEP the NAM hopes to serve as a clearing house for information on ways in which communities and individual companies are matching up jobs with job-hunters, and it distributes material on successful case histories of local solutions to unemployment.

This is no giant solution to the entire problem, but it will assuredly provide vital, much needed intelligence on the subject.

It has been commented on in this column that if American business is not prepared to tackle the modern social and economic problems, it has no valid complaint when government steps in and tries to solve them.

Here is a refreshing case of business taking the initiative. Fittingly, it is the trade association of much-beleaguered big business which has need for an improved public image.

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"COMMUNISM IS CONTRARY to the nature of man. Therein lies its most evil aspect."—J. Edgar Hoover, *Christian Herald*

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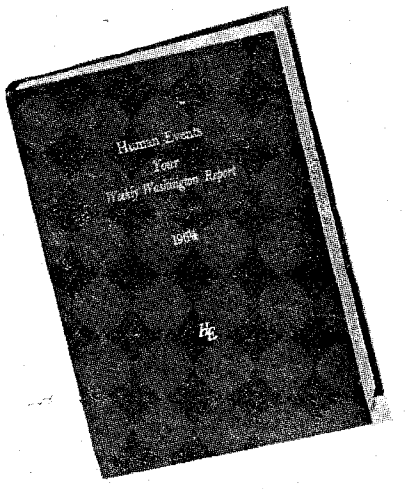

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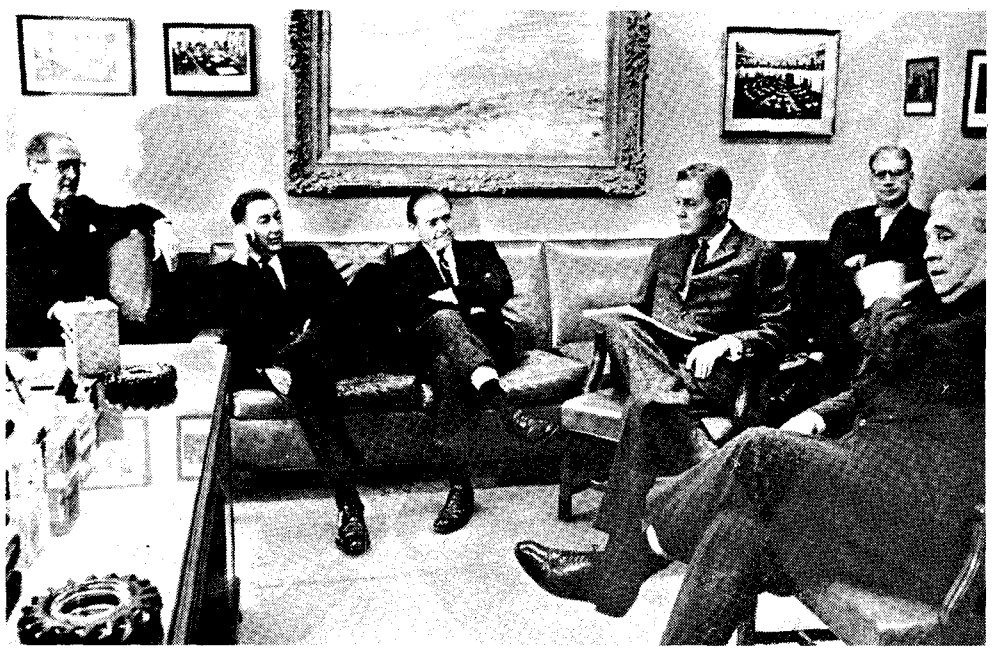

A group of Democratic senators, meeting on the eve of the opening of the 89th Congress, agreed to push for a change in Senate rules to make it easier to halt filibusters. From left are: Sen. Clinton Anderson (N. M.), chief spokesman for the group; Eugene McCarthy (Minn.), Sen. Frank Moss (Utah), Sen. Joseph Clark (Pa.) and Sen. Pat McNamara (Mich.). Seated in rear is Joseph L. Rauh, representing Americans for Democratic Action.

Defense Dept. 'Economy'

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

Charged to the costs of defense of this nation were thousands of dollars spent for the care and comfort of military brass hats and civilian pubahs who attended the 1963-64 Masters Golf Tournaments at Augusta, Ga.

According to Comptroller General Joseph Campbell, more than $20,000 was expended to provide housing and services at nearby Fort Gordon for the golf tournament spectators, members of their families and their guests. The $20,000 figure, according to the comptroller general, was only the minimum cost of labor that was provided by servicemen stationed at the base.

In addition, there was the cost of automobiles that were made available; dishes, cooking utensils and cooks for the visiting admirals and generals; a cocktail party at the officers' club; ice and drinking glasses for the visitors and daily towel and bedding service for all visitors, and these totaled more than 1,000.

The comptroller's report shows there were 62 general and flag officers, and 194 colonels and Navy captains, plus several hundred others, on hand for the bargain rate accommodations at Fort Gordon during the 1963-64 golf tournaments. He says the commercial rates for hotel and motel accommodations in the area were about $20 per day. The cost to the visiting brass and civilian pubahs was about $3 per day.

The Army tried to defend this spending for wet-nursing golf spectators by saying it is a part of the military program for "participation in community events." The comptroller general says the money has been spent in violation of the law and insists that disciplinary action be taken against those responsible.

We agree with the comptroller general, and if Secretary of Defense McNamara doesn't put a stop to this waste of the taxpayers' dollars we will have complete proof that his talk about economy is so much hogwash.

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BOBBY KENNEDY says he's not planning on running for President in 1968. Funny how he and LBJ see some things exactly the same way.—by Lyn Nofziger in the San Diego *Union*

□ □ □

DEFINITION—"A liberal: An individual with high-pressure feeling, low-pressure thinking and a constant urge to give away that which belongs to somebody else."—Rep. Otto Passman (D.-La.)

Famous Last Words

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

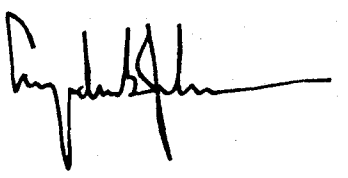
October 24, 1964

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE ARMY RESERVE

Defense of our great nation is every American's business. We rely heavily on the Army Reserve as a significant part of our country's defense team.

In his dual role the civilian soldier contributes substantially both to his community and to the defense of our land. For your selfless devotion I commend each one of you. I appreciate also the remarkable way in which your families share in your contribution with their support and understanding.

I am confident that the nation can rely upon the Army Reserve today and in the future as it has so often in the past.



Notes the Richmond News Leader: **"The foregoing letter from President Johnson, dated Oct. 24, 1964, appeared in the November** Army Reserve Magazine. **Seven weeks later, on December 12, Mr. Johnson approved a Pentagon recommendation that would scuttle the Army Reserve."**

Inaugural Cost Would Give Big Lift to 'Great Society'

By WALTER TROHAN

Next January 20 President Johnson won't get all dressed up, but not because he hasn't some place to go. At noon of that day he will go to the Capitol to take his oath of office as an elected President and that night he will whirl a number of partners at several inaugural balls.

Mr. Johnson has ruled against the traditional striped trousers and cutaway coat for the oath taking and against white tie and tails for the inaugural balls. He will wear a dark business suit at noon and a dinner jacket in the evening as more in keeping with the official launching of what he has termed the "Great Society."

The more simple dress was decreed as more in keeping with the Johnson economy image and the improved but not luxurious economy contemplated under the "Great Society." No one has complained except a few tailors and the renters of fancy pants, but their votes are few compared with those who have never donned such regalia.

If the financing of the "Great Society" were an issue, which the economy pitch hints at, Johnson could go a long way toward financing his "Great Society" by limiting his inaugural to a simple oath taking in the White House. And it would make for good and favorable publicity, but while he won't dress up, he wants to hear the bands play and watch a parade.

The cost of the semi-permanent pavilion for the President and notables in front of the White House and other stands there will total $246,000. The stands will complicate pedestrian and street traffic in front of the White House for almost three months, although the will be used for only three or four hours.

Not only will the pavilion have wall-to-wall carpeting, infra-red heating units and other comforts, but it will also have a 10-foot-wide panel of bullet-proof glass to shield the chief executive, Vice President Humphrey, and members of their families. This will be the first use of bullet-proof glass as a protective shield for presidential viewing of an inaugural parade.

The stands at the Capitol for viewing the oath taking will cost $184,000. There will also be stands along Pennsylvania Avenue, which will cost thousands more.

The inaugural will cost more than the million dollars spent in 1960. But this cost is only the beginning. Each of the 50 states will send delegates to ride or march in the parade. Each state will have a band. There will be military units of all kinds in the line of march.

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YOU ARE INVITED TO CONTRIBUTE TO

THE HANIGHEN–WICK MEMORIAL FUND

To Sustain HUMAN EVENTS as a LIVING MEMORIAL to Its Founder and Creator; and His Dedicated Associate.

A Message from the Honorable Charles Edison

Since James Wick, President of HUMAN EVENTS, died a few weeks ago, literally thousands of supporters have expressed the feeling that HUMAN EVENTS must be kept alive. As a long-time supporter of conservative principles and good government, I know how vitally important it is that this publication go forward.

That is why I am asking for your help to insure that HUMAN EVENTS is sustained at this critical hour.

Mr. Wick's passing was the second big loss to HUMAN EVENTS in less than a year. The other loss was the death of its founder, Frank C. Hanighen. I have known both men as dedicated, responsible journalists.

The wires, letters and phone calls that have poured into the HUMAN EVENTS office say in substance: "What can we do to help insure the continuation of HUMAN EVENTS?"

As a result of this concern and the heart-warming expression of support by subscribers, the Frank C. Hanighen-James L. Wick Memorial Fund has now been established. The purpose is "to sustain HUMAN EVENTS as a living memorial to its founder and creator and his dedicated associate."

General Robert E. Wood is heading a committee of volunteers in this fund-raising effort. A list of these persons is shown in this announcement. The funds from this effort will be transferred to HUMAN EVENTS so it may keep going.

As you perhaps know, HUMAN EVENTS was launched at a luncheon in Chicago 20 years ago, sponsored by General Wood. Among those attending were Colonel Charles Lindbergh, Colonel Robert E. McCormick, Sterling Morton, General Thomas S. Hammond, Clay Judson, Henry Regnery and Frank C. Hanighen. Those men got HUMAN EVENTS started with 127 subscriptions. I am proud to tell you now that the circulation has grown to nearly 140,000. Frank C. Hanighen agreed at that time to undertake the job of publisher and editor.

He laid a solid editorial foundation for HUMAN EVENTS. It has served well the cause of good government.

Ten years ago he invited Jim Wick to join him in the venture. He wanted HUMAN EVENTS to become better known and more widely read. So, while Frank managed the editorial phase, Jim Wick carried the load in building the influence of HUMAN EVENTS and helped with the writing.

During this entire time Jim Wick devoted himself unselfishly to the cause of HUMAN EVENTS. He kept steadfast in mind Mr. Hanighen's single purpose—to make certain that the publication would become firmly established as a responsible journal of truth and action.

The drive to restrict the activities of conservatives and to hamper the flow of information is being intensified both in and out of government. Intelligent self-government is at stake. Unless citizens have the information and the tools with which to act intelligently, the drive toward an omnipotent central government will succeed. HUMAN EVENTS will be needed more than ever in the fight for freedom.

Fortunately, both Mr. Hanighen and Mr. Wick built sound foundations. They built a competent staff. Equally important, Jim's brother, Milton Wick, a life-long conservative, has assumed the office of the presidency. He had been associated with his brother for nearly 30 years in the publishing business.

Under his leadership, pledged to continue the same conservative editorial policy, HUMAN EVENTS has a great challenge to go forward and grow.

However, funds are needed. In spite of extra income from the sale of large quantities of special material used by leaders during the election, the rising cost of publishing is resulting in a sizable deficit.

The management tells me that $175,000 is needed to see HUMAN EVENTS through 1965.

We, of the Hanighen-Wick Memorial Fund Raising Committee, hope that you as a friend of HUMAN EVENTS will contribute as much as you can. Whatever you can do now will be most important.

You may, if you wish, budget your pledge over the next 12 months, as shown on the pledge coupon.

Again, I say, HUMAN EVENTS must go on. With your help it will.

Charles Edison

Charles Edison

Frank C. Hanighen, founder and editor of **Human Events**, died suddenly of a heart attack on January 9, 1964, at his home in Washington.

Mr. Hanighen was born in Omaha, Neb., Aug. 31, 1899. In official ceremonies, March 1958, the city of his birth honored him as "Omaha All-American Citizen"—one of the many honors that came to Frank C. Hanighen over the years.

During the 1920s he was a trade book editor for Dodd Mead book publishers. As a foreign correspondent for the old New York **Evening Post** and the New York **Times** in the 1930s, Mr. Hanighen wrote a series of articles analyzing Hitler's rise to power. He also wrote analytical articles on various European political subjects for the New York **Times** and was a foreign correspondent for the **Reader's Digest** during the early years of World War II. Mr. Hanighen was the author of three books: **Santa Ana, The Napoleon of the West; How to Save $7.5 Billion a Year**, a condensation of the Hoover Commission reports; and **Merchants of Death**, which he co-authored with F. C. Englebrecht and which was a Book-of-the-Month Club choice in 1934.

Human Events was launched in February 1944 in Chicago at a luncheon sponsored by Gen. Robert E. Wood for Mr. Hanighen. Present were Col. Charles Lindbergh, Col. Robert R. McCormick, Sterling Morton, W. H. Regnery Sr., Gen. Thomas S. Hammond and Clay Judson.

Those present ordered subscriptions to be sent to 127 political and business leaders. At Mr. Hanighen's death, the circulation had grown to 108,258. It is now 140,000.

Burial was at Arlington National Cemetery.

The honorary pallbearers were:

The Hon. Herbert Hoover, Rep. Bruce Alger, Rep. Donald Bruce, Sen. Harry F. Byrd, Dr. Donald J. Cowling, Sen. Carl T. Curtis, The Hon. Charles Edison, Mr. Robert Gaylord Sr., Sen. Barry Goldwater, Corinne Griffith, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Sen. Roman Hruska, Rep. August Johansen, The Hon. William F. Knowland, Mr. Phillip McKenna, Mr. Roger Milliken, Adm. Ben Moreell, CEC, USN (Ret.), Sen. Karl Mundt, Mrs. R. Templeton Smith, Rep. Katharine St. George, Sen. Strom Thurmond, Sen. John Tower, Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer and The Hon. Burton K. Wheeler.

James L. Wick, President of **Human Events**, died of cancer on November 6, 1964.

Born in Bowdle, S. D., May 11, 1897, Mr. Wick embarked on a career in the newspaper field after graduating from the University of Minnesota in 1925. He worked on the Stoughton (Wis.) **Daily Courier-Hub** and the Grand Rapids (Mich.) **Press** and in 1927 became publisher of the Niles (Ohio) **Times**.

From 1942 to 1945 Mr. Wick was editor of the Prentice-Hall Newsletter, "What's Happening in Washington," and then was a free-lance writer and lecturer, traveling widely throughout the United States.

On the basis of first-hand experiences in the Republican campaigns of 1940, '44 and '48, he wrote a book entitled **How NOT to Run for President**, published in 1952.

In the early 1950s Mr. Wick organized three editors' tours aboard. The newsmen interviewed leading European and Middle Eastern figures and, in 1953, gained admission to the Soviet Union just after Stalin's death.

In 1954 Frank Hanighen asked Jim Wick to join him as executive publisher of **Human Events** and, when Mr. Hanighen died earlier this year, Mr. Wick became president.

Besides this post, Mr. Wick during his life had holdings in over 30 newspapers.

Burial was in Minneapolis.

Among the honorary pallbearers were:

Rep. Bruce Alger, Mr. Fred Allman, Mr. Richard H. Amberg, the Hon. T. Coleman Andrews, Mr. Robert Bauman, Mrs. Rutherford Bingham, Mr. Lemuel R. Boulware, Mr. Constantine Brown, Rep. Donald Bruce, Mr. William Casey, Mr. Frank de Ganahl, Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen, the Hon. Charles Edison, Corinne Griffith, Mr. W. T. Hackett, Mr. Walter Harnischfeger, Mr. Henry Hazlitt, Mr. A. G. Heinsohn Jr.

Also, Mr. David W. Howe, Sen. Roman Hruska, the Hon. Walter Judd, Mr. Walter Knott, Mr. Fulton Lewis Jr., Mrs. J. Vernon Luck, Dean Clarence Manion, Mr. Roger Milliken, Adm. Ben Moreell, CEC, USN (Ret.), Sen. Karl Mundt, the Hon. Samuel B. Pettengill, Mr. John G. Pew, Dr. Emerson P. Schmidt, Mr. John Scott, Mr. Rudolph Scott, Mr. William Stevens, Mr. Louis K. Timolat, Sen. Strom Thurmond, Mr. Samuel Veitch and Gen. Robert E. Wood.

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen (1899-1964)

Dedicated Associate James L. Wick (1897-1964)

The Declaration of Independence begins: "When in the course of *Human Events* . . ."

In reporting the news, *Human Events* is objective, it aims for accurate presentation of the facts. But it is *not* impartial. It looks at events through eyes that are biased in favor of limited constitutional government, local self-government, private enterprise and individual freedom. These principles represented the bias of the Founding Fathers. We think the same bias will preserve freedom in America.

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LET YOUR EDITOR KNOW

Newspaper editors are glad to know the preferences of their readers. Your recommendations and those of your friends may cause your editor to choose a conservative columnist rather than a liberal the next time he makes a change. The syndicated columnists whose writings appear in Human Events are:

Holmes Alexander	Paul Harvey	Russell Kirk	Dr. Max Rafferty	Henry J. Taylor
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State Dept. Still Battles Tshombe

By RUSSELL KIRK

Though he has won victory after victory by force of arms, and has thrust the rebels almost wholly beyond the Congo's borders, Premier Moise Tshombe is suggesting to Washington and Brussels that the Congo cannot be governed successfully as a unitary state. He would settle for a loose Congo federation, apparently, trusting that his own Katanga could remain prosperous and reasonably secure under such an arrangement.

The American State Department still declines, however, to discard its old passion for a centralized Congo Republic. Some State Department people insist that Tshombe ought to come to terms with the Communist-aided rebels, even admitting "rebel" leaders to his

Premier Moise Tshombe wants a loose Congo federation.

cabinet—and so, by some diplomatic miracle, preserve the Congo's alleged unity.

As this commentator has remarked before, it is not easy to come to terms with murderers and cannibals—let alone converting them into responsible cabinet ministers. It is no more simple to persuade Marxist ideologues, subsidized by Moscow and Peking, to cooperate happily with a pro-Western government: the example of Laos might have suggested that hard fact to American diplomats. Tshombe has tried such "negotiation" before—without the least success.

But the notion of a "neutral" compromise, engineered by some benign "third force," dies hard in Washington. Ex-Premier Cyrille Adoula, the State Department suggests, might be employed to effect a conciliation between the government of Kasavubu and Tshombe, and the fugitive rebel leaders now planning renewed assaults from the Sudan, Uganda and Ruanda. But since Adoula, when in office, was wholly unable to restrain or placate the Communist-influenced rebels, it seems impossible for him to succeed as a mere ambassador.

Yet Tshombe, given time and increased economic and military assistance, may reach a "political" settlement of the Congo's woes, though scarcely through embracing the Marxist terrorists who massacred (according to President Kasavubu) about 80,000 Congolese, including all the literate people they could catch. His principal hope is to give up the vain attempt to treat the Congo as a unitary state, and instead to arrange a confederate league of provinces or little states founded, for the most part, on tribal allegiances and boundaries. Just that was what Tshombe, a realist, sought for Katanga when he resisted the United Nations and the United States.

For most of the "rebels," far from being doctrinaire Communists, are merely dissatisfied tribal folk who object to being ruled by men from distant tribes or cities quite as much as they resented being ruled by Belgians. Only a large measure of self-government will induce them to lay down their arms.

True, their self-government has small prospect of being efficient or intelligent; yet it is the only alternative, probably, to a "hundred years' civil war" in the Congo. In such a confederation, such more advanced centers as Leopoldville and Elisabethville might gradually restore order and relative prosperity through example, rather than undisciplined troops.

Even if Nigeria, Tunisia, and some other moderate African states may be persuaded to assist Tshombe with military units and advisers, the vast area of the Congo cannot be pacified permanently by compulsion. Knowing this, Tshombe may prevail upon Washington and Brussels to let him effect his own settlement. His ace in this game is that Washington and Brussels have but three choices: Tshombe, communism, or anarchy.

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We Butter Red Bread

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

Many Americans do not eat as much butter as they would like to eat because it costs a little more. But how do you like the idea of paying taxes to provide butter for Communist East Germany? Does that make your margarine taste better?

Last August the Commerce Department issued an export license to allow the shipment to the East German Reds —the ones who have the Berlin Wall— of American butter valued at $860,000.

American exporters plan to sell 2,204,600 pounds of butter at a price of 39.009 cents a pound.

The reason American exporters can get butter to sell at that price is that you, as a taxpayer, pay a subsidy of 24.5 cents a pound.

If you multiply 24.5 cents per pound by the 2,204,600 pounds of American butter being sold to the Communists in East Germany, you will find that the cost to American taxpayers is $540,127.

Can't you think of something better to do with half a million of your dollars than to subsidize butter for Communists?

J. Edgar Hoover Under Siege

From the *Cincinnati Enquirer*

Those who have taken the time to acquaint themselves with the credentials of the Student Nonviolence Co-ordinating Committee can scarcely profess surprise that the organization has chosen J. Edgar Hoover, long-time director of the Federal Bureau of Investivation, as its special target.

In a recent issue of its publication, "Student Voice," SNCC suggests that Mr. Hoover "could spend his time more wisely finding the midnight bombers, arsonists and murder(er)s throughout the South and directing his agents to use their powers under federal law to make on-the-spot arrests of Southern policemen who daily deny Negroes their constitutional rights, than in trying to justify the historic failure of the FBI to make any concrete advances in assuring that Southern Negroes can exercise the simplest rights that most Americans take for granted."

The editorial goes on:

"The FBI, especially under Mr. Hoover, is incapable of performing this task . . . For Negroes the FBI has become part of the oppression of the South . . .

"The FBI under Hoover has come to mean an organization that stands and watches as Negroes are beaten in Selma, Ala., because it is an "investigatory agency."

The fact of the matter, of course, is that the FBI *is* an investigatory agency.

We can recall, for instance, when the FBI filed report after report touching on the presence of the late Harry Dexter White in the high councils of the Roosevelt Administration—despite clear evidence that he was a Soviet agent.

But we do not recall that the left, which is now so eager to convert the FBI into a federal superpolice force, clamored then for the investment of sweeping arrest powers for the FBI. It was enough then that the FBI should investigate and report—except that even that meager role brought down upon Mr. Hoover's head the usual assortment of brickbats.

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Whither Foreign Aid?

From the Arizona *Republic*

Nearly 20 years ago the United States embarked on a foreign aid policy without precedent in world history. Since then this country has spent in the neighborhood of $120 billion—well over our total annual national budget for this year—in helping foreign countries. First the goal was to repair the ravages of World War II, which have long been repaired so far as money can achieve that result. Then the aim was to help nations emerging from colonialism.

What motivated the United States in this outpouring of its treasure? In part, at least, it was supposedly enlightened self-interest. If we didn't help the less fortunate nations of the earth, ran the argument, they would turn to communism for a solution for their answers. The United States would be left an island of freedom in a sea of totalitarianism.

The same argument had been used, of course, in getting the United States to fight fascism and Nazism in World War II, and to fight the Kaiser in World War I.

But self-interest was only part of the story. The main reason for American foreign aid is the basic generosity of the American people. Endowed with worldly goods far beyond any other country, the United States has felt it should share its wealth. It also has felt, in a vague sort of way, a sense of guilt for the Western world's record of imperialism.

More important than the reasons for foreign aid, however, are the results achieved by it. Lately there seems to have been more minuses than pluses among those results. True, devastated Europe was put back on its feet. But today our foreign aid goes to countries that like to thumb their noses at us. It is almost standard procedure for people in Asian and African countries to eat American surplus commodities, and then go out and stone American consulates. Even the Filipinos, who for good and sufficient reasons have received probably more American dollars per capita than any other nation, have taken to organizing large-scale anti-American demonstrations.

The results in this country could easily have been foreseen. Once it was accepted liberal doctrine that foreign aid was opposed only by stony-hearted reactionaries who like to see little babies starve to death. Today such staunch liberals as Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon and Sen. William Fulbright of Arkansas have declared open war on foreign aid in its present form. No one could call them reactionaries, or even conservatives.

Foreign aid, at least in its economic phases, was intended to turn "have-not" nations into "have" nations. There is some question as to whether it has kept national incomes rising as fast as populations have risen in the poor countries. But there is no question but what the gap between our standard of living and theirs has increased during these years. The rich have indeed gotten richer, and the poor in many cases have gotten poorer.

In the year just ended, for instance, the United States enjoyed a gain of $40 billion in gross national product. That's simply the gain, not the total. Our increase alone was almost as large as the total gross national product of Canada. A few more years like that, and we'll probably have to add Canada to the list of nations to which we send foreign aid, because of the gap between our production and theirs.

A cynic might say there is nothing left for the United States to do but to give away everything it has. If we dismantle our factories and destroy our technological know-how, we might close the gap between ourselves and the less-favored nations. Such a solution is, of course, neither possible nor desirable.

What we might really ask ourselves is whether the nations on which we have poured out our philanthropy are either able or anxious to achieve material prosperity as we know it. There are other values in life besides a chicken in every pot (U.S. translation, two autos in every carport).

It is quite possible that the Tagalogs and Pakistani and the Congolese and the Vietnamese simply don't want, or can't operate, a national economy dedicated to producing and distributing an abundance of material goods. In which case, we'd better start exporting ideas; i.e., life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, instead of steel and cotton and coal and cement.

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Courtesy the Nashville *Banner*

Failure of Federal Program

U.S. Bureau Helps Keep Indians on Reservations

By FRANK VEALE in the Atlanta *Times*

That old saw, "how are you gonna keep 'em down on the farm?", has been paraphrased by the U.S. Department of Interior Bureau of Indian Affairs into, "How are you gonna keep the Indians on the reservations?"

Unfortunately for the American Indians and for the American taxpayers, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been doing a remarkable job of keeping Indians on the reservations.

You see, if the Indians left the reservations, or were trained in skills which would encourage them to leave and compete in a free market economy for jobs, the primary reason for the Bureau of Indian Affairs would cease to exist—and quite a few Indians would be out looking for jobs.

Take a report by the bureau on the Indian Industrial Development program, for example. In this report the bureau declares that "The bureau continued to be faced with the stubborn facts that (1) the Indian reservation populations were steadily increasing, in some states at a faster rate than the general U.S. population; (2) far more Indians were living on the reservations than the lands and other resources could adequately support; (3) . . . widespread poverty as it had existed for many years still persisted on many of the Indian reservations; (4) only a comparatively small number of the younger Indian people seemed to have any real interest in spending their lives making a living from farming or from livestock production; and (5) a high percentage of the Indians in employable age brackets had no occupational skills so they had to seek work as common laborers."

In light of the last confession by the bureau, how in the world can we criticize the Belgians for their "colonialism" in the Congo when this country's federal system has failed miserably to provide "a high percentage of our Indians with occupational skills" after a hundred years of experimentation in reservation living?

Where is the freedom of opportunity for the American Indian on the reservation?

In justice to the bureau, it launched in 1957 a Branch of Industrial Development whose primary objective is "the location of industrial production plants in the vicinity of Indian reservations which will provide job opportunities and thereby improve the economic well-being of the Indian people."

The bureau and the Department of the Interior pay lip service to the principle of "full participation of the Indians in American life." However, since 1924, 40 full years ago, when all American Indians became citizens, the number of Indians on the reservations is increasing.

There is no specific program aimed at getting the Indians off the reservation for good. Rather, under the paternalistic concepts of the welfare state, the Indian today is encouraged to stay on the reservation.

The Busy National Council of Churches

From the Richmond *News Leader*

A lively controversy developed in advance of the 89th Congress, involving the seating of Mississippi's five members of the House. Militant Negro groups, headed by CORE, took the position that the five were not legally elected because of Mississippi's persistent disfranchisement of potential Negro voters. A rump outfit, known as the "Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party," held its own private election on November 3 in three of the dictricts, and contends that its choices should be seated instead.

Such charges, counter-charges, and political maneuverings have been going on in Mississippi all year. This latest incident would provoke no further comment, but one thing:

We note by the papers that the National Council of Churches, through its Commission on Religion and Race, felt compelled to get into the act. The NCC recently released a pretentious statement which supported the challenge to Mississippi's delegation but disagreed on efforts to seat the three "Freedom" Democrats.

The only question we have to ask is this: How in the name of its charter did it become the business of the National Council of Churches to pronounce upon the seating of members of Congress? We had imagined that the old rule still prevailed, separating church and state, by which a distinction was recognized between the things that are Caesar's and the things that are God's. At the NCC, the two sides of the coin turn steadily to Caesar.

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